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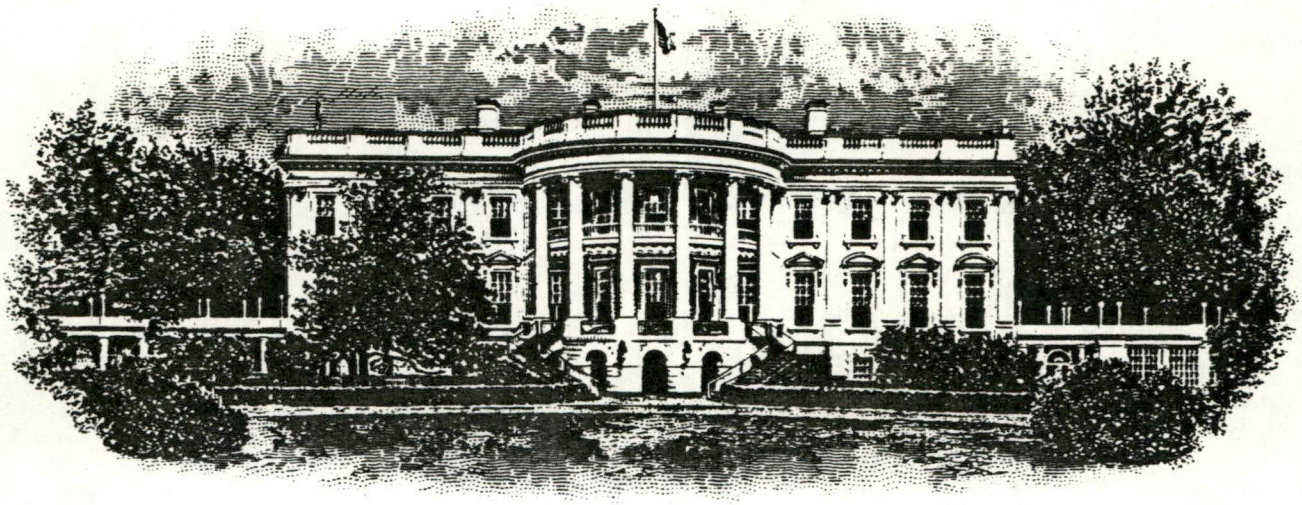
Record Group/Collection:	George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin:	Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series:	Speech File Backup Files
Subseries:	Chron Files, 1989-1993
OA/ID Number:	13818
Folder ID Number:	13818-011

Folder Title:
[Boris] Yeltsin State Arrival 6/16/92 [OA 7576] [1]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	26	22	6	1



OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL SPEECHWRITING

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Number of Pages (Including Cover) 4

To BOB SIMON

Fax Number 755-2568

Date 8 JULY 1992

From VB

Office Number 202-456-7750

****** COMMENTS ******

Here.

"The noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend."

PRES. GEORGE BUSH, ASNE REMARKS

9 April 1992

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 16, 1992

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT BUSH
AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN
AT ARRIVAL CEREMONY

The South Grounds

10:11 A.M. EDT

PRESIDENT BUSH: Mr. President and Mrs. Yeltsin, distinguished members of the Russian delegation, welcome to the United States of America. (Applause.) And also a welcome to all of you who have come here to welcome President Yeltsin and Mrs. Yeltsin; welcome to the White House.

Mr. President, today marks the beginning of a new era, a new kind of summit. Not a meeting between two powers struggling for global supremacy, but between two partners striving to build a democratic peace. (Applause.) From this summit we see a new horizon, a new world of peace and hope, a new world of cooperation and partnership between the American and Russian people. Our hope is that this partnership will end forever the old antagonisms that kept our people apart, that kept the world in confrontation and conflict.

Mr. President, your nation is embarked on a great experiment, a new Russian revolution with freedom as its goal. The progress that Russia has made and the promise of more to come owes much to the courage and vision of President Boris Yeltsin. (Applause.)

Mr. President, like Peter the Great, you are redefining Russia's understanding of itself, redefining Russia's role in the world. But for the first time in modern Russian history a leader claims as his authority not the dispensation of history, but a democratic mandate. You come here as an elected leader -- elected by the people in free and fair elections. And we salute you. (Applause.)

Already, Mr. President, together we're transforming our relations with benefits not simply to our two nations, but to the entire world. Today the threat of a cataclysmic conventional war has vanished with the Warsaw Pact and the rise of democracy in Russia. And today the threat of a nuclear nightmare is more distant now than at any time since the dawn of the nuclear age. (Applause.)

Mr. President, I say this with a sense of pride, a sense of awe and, above all, a sense of history. There is no greater gift to the people of America, to the people of Russia, to the people all over the world, than an end to the awful specter of global war. (Applause.) And think for just a minute about what that means not for presidents, not for heads of state or historians, but for parents and for their children. It means a future free from fear.

This first U.S.-Russia summit gives us a chance to lay the foundation of a more peaceful and prosperous future for all of our citizens. And we'll discuss Russia's historic transition to the free market, its integration into the world economy, and our commitment to support those reforms. We will seek new ways to expand

MORE

trade between our two nations; to create wealth and growth and jobs; new levels of military cooperation to reduce further the risk of war; and, finally, new agreements to reduce nuclear arms and to remove from our arsenals the most destructive weapons.

But this morning I want to focus on our ultimate goal: on the challenge we face to forge a new peace, a permanent peace between two nations who must never again be adversaries. Right now, the people of Russia are waging a valiant struggle for the very same rights and freedoms that we Americans prize so deeply.

The fate of that revolution, the future of democracy in Russia and other new nations of the old Soviet empire is the most important foreign policy issue of our time. The United States and its democratic allies must play a key role in helping forge a democratic peace.

And that is why I urge the Congress of the United States once again to pass the freedom support act, to strengthen democratic reform in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet Union. (Applause.) And, yes, the aid that I've requested from the Congress is significant, but it is also a tiny fraction of the $4 trillion that this nation spent to secure peace during the long Cold War. The resources we devote now are an investment in a new century of peace with Russia.

History offers us a rare chance. A chance to achieve what twice before this century has escaped our grasp. It is the vision that perished twice in the battlefields of Europe. The vision that gave us hope through the long Cold War -- the dream of a new world of freedom.

Mr. President, when we think of the world our children and theirs will inherit, no single factor will shape their future more than the fate of the revolution now unfolding in Russia. Your Russian Revolution, like our American Revolution, simply must succeed. (Applause.)

And once again, my friend, welcome to the White House. And may God grant a peaceful future to the American and the Russian people. Welcome, sir. Glad you're here. All yours. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT YELTSIN: Mr. President, Mrs. Bush. First of all, I take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for the warm words of welcome which you have just addressed to Russia, to the people of Russia and to the President of Russia.

I extend greetings to you and to the people of the United States of America on behalf of the peoples of the Russian Federation. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to you, Mr. Bush, for this warm hospitality. Today marks the beginning of the first ever official visit by the President of Russia to the United States of America.

The time when our two nations viewed each other with suspicion and even animosity is behind us. Today, we are opening a new agenda. Never before have the prospects for a better world order, hopes for the solution of global problems, been so tangible and reachable. Our two nations are increasingly aware that it is more than wasteful to throw the vital energies and the intellectual resources of our two peoples away into the abyss of confrontation. This is in conflict with the fundamental interests of all nations and poses a very real threat to their future. (Applause.)

The bastions of communism were on combat duty for over 70 years. Until very recently they looked unassailable. They exist no more. They collapsed without a shot being fired, without one human life lost, and have only left behind the sentiment of profound disappointment and bitterness among millions of men and women. We believe that it is our goal today to bring Russia back to normalcy,

restore it the values and the fundamentals which have evolved in the course of human history.

We have not come to ask your country to solve our problems for us. We have brought along ideas and concrete proposals as well as projects which may provide the foundation in which to build full-scale cooperation between our two nations and peoples. I am aware that the U.S. side is ready to negotiate in that same vein. We have things to offer to the American farmer, to the American industrialist and to the American banker.

Mr. President, I am convinced that practical partnership will make our nations richer and our peoples happier. We have seen a good beginning. Both the Americans and the Russians no longer view each other as adversaries and have made their first important steps towards each other. After the wall of mutual isolation between our two countries came down, citizens of Russia and America were surprised to see how similar they were and how similar their ideals and aspirations are. They raise families, sow crops, love their country, and crave for tranquility and peace on Earth so that their families are never endangered.

The U.S. experience holds a special importance for us. Our two countries and peoples are commensurate in terms of both size and character. We share values. We have common concerns. And we hold the same hopes for the future. We have a good ground for cooperation.

I am hopeful that this visit will see major progress in all the areas of our ties. This refers, above all, to global arms reductions and economic interaction. (Applause.)

I thank you, Mr. President; I thank Mrs. Bush and all of you who are present here, especially the military people, for welcoming us here on behalf of the Russian delegation. (Applause.)

END 10:28 A.M. EDT

To _____

Date _____ Time _____

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M _____ ASWE Apr. 8, 1952

of _____

Phone _____

Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	
RETURNED YOUR CALL			

Message _____

755-2568

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-023 CARBONLESS

→ The noblest mission of the victor is to turn an enemy into a friend.

ASNE REMARKS 9 April 92

McGroarty/Bunton
June 15, 1992
6:00 p.m.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST IN HONOR OF PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 16, 1992
8:00 P.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Yeltsin, distinguished guests: Barbara and I are delighted to welcome you here tonight. //

Mr. President, tonight's dinner is a bit more formal than the blue jeans and sweaters we wore back in February at Camp David. But I believe the progress we made <u>today</u> would not have been possible without the time we spent together at Camp David.

Michael Bynsch press office — was ✓ - podiums -

I also recall the press conference we held at the end of your visit, when we literally "crossed wires" -- got our headphones mixed up. Everytime I said a word, I heard a tiny Russian voice. Every time <u>I</u> stopped -- <u>it</u> stopped. I looked over at you -- you weren't saying a word. I remember at the time thinking, "there <u>must be</u> better a way to learn Russian." //

As I said this morning as I welcomed you to the White House, this meeting marks a new kind of summit: <u>not</u> a meeting between <u>two powers</u> struggling for global supremacy -- but between <u>two partners</u>, striving to build a democratic peace.

This new relationship has its roots in the <u>new Russian revolution</u> -- and that revolution owes much to our guest tonight. Just as crises show the mettle of a man, so too they show the strength of an idea. When, back in August of 1991, the old guard threatened to take Russia backward -- Boris Yeltsin led the defense of democracy from the building Russians call the White

House. The coup plotters set out to destroy democracy -- instead they made it stronger.

Mr. President, you've been described many times as a maverick -- a word coined in the American heartland to capture the independent streak that sets some individuals apart from the crowd. I think my fellow Texan Jim Baker would agree: You possess a certain spirit you find on the plains of West Texas.

Tonight we honor your courage -- and celebrate the new possibilities now open to us. Think back to the Cold War climate that marked earlier summits, and how far we've come. How much safer, how much more hopeful -- to meet tonight as friends, united by common ideals. //

More than 150 years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville predicted that the U.S. and Russia would one day be the world's two great powers -- rivals for world dominance. We must prove that prophesy was only true for a time -- and that our two nations can forge a new future, in freedom. //

Our governments will work to build stronger ties, for the sake of peace and prosperity. We in this country must reach out -- provide the assistance that can help Russia's democratic revolution succeed. But the bonds that knit democracies together can never be created by government alone. Democracies grow together through the countless encounters that take place every day between private individuals and professionals, business and labor, artists and educators -- in your country and mine.

Gone are the days when vast parts of our countries were off-limits to foreign visitors. Under our new Open Lands agreement, for the first time, Russian and American officials -- and more important, Russian and American citizens -- will be free to travel anywhere in each other countries -- to witness the customs and heritage that set us apart, and the common humanity that draws us together.

Tonight, Mr. President, I offer this toast in the spirit of friendship: To the new partnership between our people; to the success of the new Russian revolution; and to the new world of freedom we seek.

# # #

McGroarty/Bunton
June 12, 1992
6:45 p.m.
[RETURN.TST]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE RUSSIAN EMBASSY
WASHINGTON, D.C.
JUNE 17, 1992
8:15 P.M.

do we really want to acknowledge the Ambassador? - phonetic

Mr. President, Mrs. Yeltsin, [Ambassador and Mrs. Lukin:] Barbara and I are honored tonight to be your guests. The warmth we feel tonight raises my hopes that this summit marks a turning point -- a chance to secure the kind of peace our people have been looking for: the kind of peace that comes when two nations share a single ideal.

The promise of our new partnership is reflected in the agreements we signed today. We agreed today to chart together a new future for mankind in space. We agreed to reduce military competition -- to work in common to end conflict. And we continued to clear away barriers to the greater trade that means a more prosperous future.

Mr. President, the progress we've made would not have been possible without Russia's commitment to reform. From the role and rights of an elected Parliament -- to the rule of law -- to the right of every individual to live, work and worship as they wish: Russia is moving forward in the difficult task of democracy-building.

In this effort, Russia will draw its strength from defenders of heritage and history like Solzhenitsyn. From crusaders for universal rights like Sakharov. From the men and women without

number who kept faith when faith was forbidden -- who spoke the truth, when speaking truth cost lives. // From men and women like the tens of thousands who last August rallied to the Russian Parliament -- to your White House, Mr. President -- to lay claim to a democratic future. //

Mr. President, the American people want to see Russia reach that democratic destiny. Across the boundaries of language and culture, across the old Cold War chasm of mistrust, we feel the pull of common values. In your revolution, we see echoes of this nation's past. In your hopes and dreams -- we see our own. //

Tonight, I raise my glass:

To our gracious hosts, President and Mrs. Yeltsin; To the people of Russia; To the success of the new Russian Revolution -- and a new partnership in freedom. [I wish you: Mnogaya leta!]

# # #

Suggested ending to President Bush's speech/toast to Yeltsin

...and to the world of freedom we seek. *Mnogaya, mnogaya leta!* (To many, many [healthy and prosperous] years!)

Comment: This is a traditional Church Slavonic-language (equivalent to Latin in Russia) greeting, (usually sung by a choir of those present) forgotten for seventy years, but now reviving in connection with the revival of religion and the Orthodox Church in Russia. It is vague enough to be understood as applying to the entire world, or to the two nations, to the other president, and to the audience.

Exchange of Gifts

The Russian custom is for the arriving guest not to come "s pustymi rukami" (empty handed) but to bring a gift for the host, usually a bottle, often food or flowers, but probably something more permanent for a state visit. There is no need for the host to reciprocate there and then. But the host could hand a present to the guest when the guest leaves the banquet or the US..

2/2

Postmark:

From: Serge Markov, VOA 619-7576

To: Jean Burton 456 7750 , FAX 456-[illegible] 7929

Sender:

Copies: Serge

Subject: Russian Proverbs: Literal Translations -- Challenges, Great Tasks, Journeys, Visitors, Guests

In Reply To:

Answer To:

Note: 3 pages including cover

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release June 16, 1992

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AND PRESIDENT YELTSIN
AT ARRIVAL CEREMONY

The South Grounds

10:11 A.M. EDT

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Mr. President, today marks the beginning of a new era, a new kind of summit. Not a meeting between two powers struggling for global supremacy, but between two partners striving to build a democratic peace. (Applause.) From this summit we see a new horizon, a new world of peace and hope, a new world of cooperation and partnership between the American and Russian people. Our hope is that this partnership will end forever the old antagonisms that kept our people apart, that kept the world in confrontation and conflict.

Mr. President, your nation is embarked on a great experiment, a new Russian revolution with freedom as its goal. The progress that Russia has made and the promise of more to come owes much to the courage and vision of President Boris Yeltsin. (Applause.)

Mr. President, like Peter the Great, you are redefining Russia's understanding of itself, redefining Russia's role in the world. But for the first time in modern Russian history a leader claims as his authority not the dispensation of history, but a democratic mandate. You come here as an elected leader -- elected by the people in free and fair elections. And we salute you. (Applause.)

Already, Mr. President, together we're transforming our relations with benefits not simply to our two nations, but to the entire world. Today the threat of a cataclysmic conventional war has vanished with the Warsaw Pact and the rise of democracy in Russia. And today the threat of a nuclear nightmare is more distant now than at any time since the dawn of the nuclear age. (Applause.)

Mr. President, I say this with a sense of pride, a sense of awe and, above all, a sense of history. There is no greater gift to the people of America, to the people of Russia, to the people all over the world, than an end to the awful specter of global war. (Applause.) And think for just a minute about what that means not for presidents, not for heads of state or historians, but for parents and for their children. It means a future free from fear.

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MORE

trade between our two nations; to create wealth and growth and jobs; new levels of military cooperation to reduce further the risk of war; and, finally, new agreements to reduce nuclear arms and to remove from our arsenals the most destructive weapons.

But this morning I want to focus on our ultimate goal: on the challenge we face to forge a new peace, a permanent peace between two nations who must never again be adversaries. Right now, the people of Russia are waging a valiant struggle for the very same rights and freedoms that we Americans prize so deeply.

The fate of that revolution, the future of democracy in Russia and other new nations of the old Soviet empire is the most important foreign policy issue of our time. The United States and its democratic allies must play a key role in helping forge a democratic peace.

And that is why I urge the Congress of the United States once again to pass the freedom support act, to strengthen democratic reform in Russia and the other new nations of the old Soviet Union. (Applause.) And, yes, the aid that I've requested from the Congress is significant, but it is also a tiny fraction of the $4 trillion that this nation spent to secure peace during the long Cold War. The resources we devote now are an investment in a new century of peace with Russia.

History offers us a rare chance. A chance to achieve what twice before this century has escaped our grasp. It is the vision that perished twice in the battlefields of Europe. The vision that gave us hope through the long Cold War -- the dream of a new world of freedom.

Mr. President, when we think of the world our children and theirs will inherit, no single factor will shape their future more than the fate of the revolution now unfolding in Russia. Your Russian Revolution, like our American Revolution, simply must succeed. (Applause.)

And once again, my friend, welcome to the White House. And may God grant a peaceful future to the American and the Russian people. Welcome, sir. Glad you're here. All yours. (Applause.)

PRESIDENT YELTSIN: Mr. President, Mrs. Bush. First of all, I take this opportunity to thank you, Mr. President, for the warm words of welcome which you have just addressed to Russia, to the people of Russia and to the President of Russia.

I extend greetings to you and to the people of the United States of America on behalf of the peoples of the Russian Federation. I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to you, Mr. Bush, for this warm hospitality. Today marks the beginning of the first ever official visit by the President of Russia to the United States of America.

The time when our two nations viewed each other with suspicion and even animosity is behind us. Today, we are opening a new agenda. Never before have the prospects for a better world order, hopes for the solution of global problems, been so tangible and reachable. Our two nations are increasingly aware that it is more than wasteful to throw the vital energies and the intellectual resources of our two peoples away into the abyss of confrontation. This is in conflict with the fundamental interests of all nations and poses a very real threat to their future. (Applause.)

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restore it the values and the fundamentals which have evolved in the course of human history.

We have not come to ask your country to solve our problems for us. We have brought along ideas and concrete proposals as well as projects which may provide the foundation in which to build full-scale cooperation between our two nations and peoples. I am aware that the U.S. side is ready to negotiate in that same vein. We have things to offer to the American farmer, to the American industrialist and to the American banker.

Mr. President, I am convinced that practical partnership will make our nations richer and our peoples happier. We have seen a good beginning. Both the Americans and the Russians no longer view each other as adversaries and have made their first important steps towards each other. After the wall of mutual isolation between our two countries came down, citizens of Russia and America were surprised to see how similar they were and how similar their ideals and aspirations are. They raise families, sow crops, love their country, and crave for tranquility and peace on Earth so that their families are never endangered.

The U.S. experience holds a special importance for us. Our two countries and peoples are commensurate in terms of both size and character. We share values. We have common concerns. And we hold the same hopes for the future. We have a good ground for cooperation.

I am hopeful that this visit will see major progress in all the areas of our ties. This refers, above all, to global arms reductions and economic interaction. (Applause.)

I thank you, Mr. President; I thank Mrs. Bush and all of you who are present here, especially the military people, for welcoming us here on behalf of the Russian delegation. (Applause.)

END 10:28 A.M. EDT

Don Rhodes → (7500)
walled golf carts around
perimeter

joint press statement /
- no Mrs. Yeltsin (?)

big out post crystal

Grenada.
Jake Ross
- got cowboy boots up there
- decent army
  ready cold
- Mrs. Yeltsin was there
  tour - victory card
Amb. Strauss was there
Gen. Scowcroft
below 10° — snow on ground

FOTUS Russia's home page on front

(Feb. 1, 92)

(b. 1 Feb. 1931)

Call Parrish who was Mr Ad?

↑

Freedom Support Act
much $ to Russia
econ reform
means jobs
here

Justin
Wayne
1747

– Yeltsin Summer –

Commander Ross – @ visit
last time here (temperature)
took a Camp David Parker

the 2 presidents went to the wrong
podiums – Russia flag is mine
botched the
– Liteyn came out backwards –

brief visit – low key
– very casual – dress – Camp David
cowboy boots / blue jean

Cabinet mbrs.?
MC ?

FACT CHECK:

McGroarty/Bunton
June 11, 1992
3:00 p.m.
[YELTSIN]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ARRIVAL STATEMENT, OFFICIAL VISIT OF PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN OF RUSSIA
THE WHITE HOUSE
JUNE 16, 1992
10:00 A.M.

Mr. President, Mrs. Yeltsin, distinguished members of the Russian delegation -- welcome to the United States. And of course, all of you who have come here to mark this historic moment: Welcome to the White House. //

Mr. President, today marks the beginning of a new era -- a new kind of summit: not a meeting between two powers struggling for global supremacy -- but between two partners, striving to be friends. // This meeting drives a final nail into the old antagonisms that kept our people apart -- and kept the world on the edge of war. //

Your nation is embarked on a great experiment -- a new Russian revolution -- with democracy as its goal. The progress Russia has made, and the promise of more to come, owes much to the courage and vision of President Boris Yeltsin. Like Peter the Great, you are redefining Russia's understanding of itself -- redefining Russia's role in the world. But, for the first time in modern Russian history, a leader claims as his authority not the dispensation of history -- but a democratic mandate. //

Already, Mr. President, we are transforming our relations -- with benefits not simply to our two nations, but to the world.

Think back to the Cold War, with its clear and present dangers. Today, the threat of a cataclysmic conventional war has vanished with the Warsaw Pact -- and the threat of a nuclear nightmare is more distant now than at any time since the dawn of the nuclear age. // Mr. President, I say this with a sense of pride, a sense of awe -- and above all, a sense of history: there is no greater gift to the people of America and Russia and all the world than an end to the awful specter of global war.

But our celebration must be tempered with a renewed sense of mission -- for our challenges are far from over.

This first U.S.-Russia Summit gives us a chance to redefine our relationship -- to lay a foundation of a more peaceful and prosperous future for all our citizens. We will discuss Russia's historic transition to the free market -- its integration into the world economy -- and our commitment to support those reforms. We will seek new ways to expand trade between our two nations, to create wealth and growth and jobs -- new levels of military cooperation to reduce further the risk of war. Finally, new agreements to reduce nuclear arms -- and to remove from our arsenals the most destructive weapons.

But this morning, I want to focus on our ultimate goal: on the challenge we face to forge a new peace -- a permanent peace, between two nations who must never again be adversaries.

Right now, the people of Russia are waging a valiant struggle for the very same rights and freedoms we possess. The fate of that revolution -- the future of democracy in Russia and

the other new nations of the old Soviet empire -- is the most important foreign policy issue of our time. //

The outcome of this unfinished revolution will affect everything: from the amount of resources we in this country must devote to defense instead of domestic needs -- to a future for our children free from fear.

The United States and its democratic allies must play a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. That is why I urge Congress once again to pass the Freedom Support Act -- to strengthen democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth States. //

Yes, the aid I've requested from the Congress is significant -- but it is also a tiny fraction of the four trillion dollars this nation spent to secure peace during the long Cold War. The resources we devote now are an investment in a new century of peace with Russia. //

ASNE: NAVY Commencement 1992

History offers us a rare chance -- a chance to achieve what twice ~~before~~ ~~in~~ this century has escaped our grasp: It is the vision that perished twice in the battlefields of Europe -- the vision that gave us hope through the long Cold War: the dream of a new world of freedom. //

Mr. President, when we think of the world our children and theirs will inherit, no single factor will shape their future more than the fate of the Revolution now unfolding in Russia. Your Russian Revolution -- like our own American Revolution -- simply must succeed. //

WHO IS THEIRS ... OUR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN?

Once again, welcome to the White House -- and may God bless the Russian people.

# # #

Kris Goldwin
C Ray

PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU QUESTIONNAIRE

EVENT: Reciprocal dinner -

DATE:

TIME:

LOCATION:
(GIVE DETAILS) Russian Embassy
- Gold Room (3D)?
en Haut

EXPECTED AUDIENCE:
(NUMBER AND COMPOSITION)

PRESS COVERAGE:

DIAS PARTICIPANTS:

EXPECTED PARTICIPATION BY MEMBERS OF CABINET/CONGRESSIONAL/ADMINISTRATION:

POTUS INTRODUCTION:

PERTINENT SPEECH TOPICS:

REASON FOR EVENT:

Receiving line -
translation -
toast -

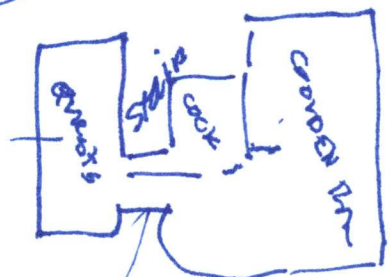
* DCM/ Protocol
Ambassador -

- Rnd. circular tables
8-10 rounds -

[Consecutive translation]

Head table guests

[redacted] No after dinner entertainment



PLEASE ATTACH PRE-ADVANCE/WALK-THRU CALL SHEET

Heads & Tails

State Dining → also whispered in Yeltsin ear

Randy -

[Mrs. of the delegation] b/c so many (35) wish to talk w/ NSC & acknowledgments

too

[LOU-KEEN]

~~ADRIAN~~

(Larisa)

Amb. LUKIN

- ~~ADRI~~i - sp Yeltsin Naina

* [for Mrs. Yeltsina alone]

ACKS: MC.? CAB.?

FACT CHECK:

McGroarty/Bunton
June 11, 1992
3:00 p.m.
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Bobby ✓

Mr. President, you've been described many times as a maverick -- a word coined in the American heartland to capture the independent streak that sets some individuals apart from the crowd. I think my fellow Texan Jim Baker would agree: You possess a certain spirit you find out in Odessa -- not on the Black Sea, but in Midland-Odessa, out in the plains of West Texas. //

that came out / NSC

Tonight we honor your courage -- and celebrate the new possibilities now open to (us.) all Americans. Think back to the Cold War climate that marked earlier summits, and how far we've come. How much safer, how much more hopeful -- to meet tonight as friends, united by common ideals. //

More than 150 years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville predicted that the U.S. and Russia would one day be the world's two great powers -- locked in a battle of national wills. We must prove that prophesy was only partly true -- and that our two nations can forge a new future, in freedom. //

Our governments will work to build stronger ties, for the sake of peace and prosperity. for our people. Yes, we must work together to chart a new future for mankind in space. Are we signing a space agreement? Yes, we in this country must reach out -- provide the assistance that can help Russia's democratic revolution succeed. But the bonds that knit democracies together can never be created by government alone. Democracies grow together through the countless exchanges that take place every day between private individuals and professionals, between business and labor -- artists and educators in your country and mine.

Gone are the days when vast parts of our countries were off-limits to foreign visitors. Under our new Open Lands agreement, for the first time, Russian and American officials -- and more important, Russian and American citizens -- will be free to travel anywhere in each other countries' -- to witness the

Adam Dan - Rubi

customs and heritage that set us apart, and the common humanity that draws us together.

To that beginning, I want to add tonight a challenge -- a bold approach to build the trust that endures: I challenge the American people to bring ten thousand Russian students to live and learn in this country. To open their hearts and homes -- learn from your young people the hopes and dreams that shape the new Russia. //

[Proverb?: From freedom comes friendship.] //

Tonight, Mr. President, I offer this toast:

To our friendship -- and the friendship between our people; To the success of the new Russian revolution; and to the new world of freedom we seek. [Russian salutation].

# # #

"Za mir" = To peace

Sergei Markov Cliché

= guests always bring something - never empty
drink or eat or a small token
place the gift on the table if edible
— in a state visit would bring something else —

June 15, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID F. DEMAREST

FROM: DAN MC GROARTY

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REMARKS FOR TOAST AT THE RECIPROCAL STATE DINNER HOSTED BY PRESIDENT YELTSIN

I. SUMMARY

On Wednesday, June 17 at 8:15 p.m., you will deliver a toast at the Riciprocal State Dinner hosted by President Yeltsin in the Gold Room at the Russian Embassy in Washington.

II. DISCUSSION

Your remarks, (approximately 4 minutes / cards), focus on the accomplishments of this first U.S.-Russia Summit and pay tribute the progress Russia has made under President Yeltsin's leadership.

Please note: the translation will be consecutive. The closing Russian salutation means: "to many healthy and prosperous years."

MARIANNA EX.IM.

OHE.

fax 566-7524

phone 566-8990.

Chamber Clearinghouse courtesy copy

Boris Nikolayevich YEL'TSIN **RUSSIA**
(Phonetic: YELTsin)

President, Russian Federation (since June 1991); Premier (since November 1991)

Addressed as: Mr. President

©

Boris Yel'tsin remains the preeminent political figure in Russia. He emerged from the recent largely hostile session of the Congress of People's Deputies, Russia's highest lawmaking body, with his political and popular standing intact. In a well-received speech closing the Congress on 21 April 1992, Yel'tsin reiterated his commitment to free market reforms and continued cooperation with the West. He nonetheless is enmeshed in the same sorts of problems that bedeviled former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev: a disintegrating economy, divisive ethnic tensions, and infighting in his government.

Staying the Course

Despite growing criticism, Yel'tsin has stayed the course of reform, making only minor adjustments. Critics of his government—including, at times, Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov and Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy—have publicly argued that the economic reform program undertaken on 2 January is ill-considered and the team implementing it inexperienced. Yel'tsin defends his swift move to a free market economy as Russia's only hope of economic renewal and maintains that the young team he has assembled is capable of seeing it through. Although he often rules by decree and is sometimes criticized for authoritarian leadership, Yel'tsin has permitted the freedoms introduced by Gorbachev to take root, has sought compromise on contentious issues with other countries in the CIS and with his own legislature, and has fully complied with judicial decisions ruling two of his decrees unconstitutional and void.

Career Ups and Downs

Yel'tsin was born on 1 February 1931. He received a degree in construction engineering from the Ural Polytechnic Institute in his hometown of Sverdlovsk in 1955. By the late 1960s he had become director of a local housing construction facility. He joined the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) in 1961. From 1968 to 1976 he was a department chief, then secretary of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Party Committee (obkom). He served as obkom first secretary from 1976 until 1985, when he was called to Moscow just a month after Gorbachev became CPSU General Secretary. Yel'tsin briefly headed the Central Committee's Construction Department, and later that year he became first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, a position he held for two years. He became a candidate member of the CPSU Politburo in February 1986.

Less than 18 months later, Yel'tsin suffered a serious career setback. During a speech at the October 1987 Central Committee plenum, he attacked the Party's Secretariat, a move that cost him his party posts. He was then appointed First Deputy Minister of the State Committee for Construction, a humiliating demotion. After that, Yel'tsin pursued an

(cont.)

antiestablishment course, endearing himself to the man on the street. In March 1989 he won a decisive election to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. From May 1989 until December 1990 he served on the USSR Supreme Soviet. He was elected Russian Republic Supreme Soviet Chairman in May 1990. In July 1990 Yel'tsin dramatically resigned from the CPSU.

Personal Data

In a boyhood prank involving a hand grenade, Yel'tsin lost his left thumb and forefinger. He recounted many such experiences from his early life and career in his 1990 autobiography, *Against the Grain*. He likes to play volleyball, tennis, and pool. Yel'tsin understands some German and English. He and his wife, Anastasiya, have two daughters and several grandchildren.

24 April 1992

Postmark: Eurasian Research Unit 330 IND. AVE. SW WDC 20547 Rm 6157

From: Serge Markov, VOA 619-7576

To: Jean Burton 456 7750 , FAX 456-6218

Sender:

Copies: Serge

Subject: Russian Proverbs

In Reply To:

Answer To:

Note: 4 pages including cover

Attachment

Proverbs,folk legends, sayings related to:

Decision making, challenges, great tasks

bez truda ne vynesh i rybku iz pruda (no pain, no gain)

pervyy blin vsegda komom (the first step is always the hardest)

likha beda nachalo (a good beginning is half the battle)

terpenye i trud vsyo peretrut (if at first you don't succeed try and try again)

popytka ne pytka, a spros ne beda (there is no harm in trying)

na Boga nadeysya a sam ne ploshay (God helps those who help themselves)

Bog-to Bog, da i sam ne bud plokh (God helps those who help themselves)

volkov boyatsya v les ne khodit' (nothing ventured, nothing gained)

tishe edish dalshe budesh (slowly but surely)

smelost goroda beret (none but the brave deserve the fair)

Moskva ne srazu stroilas (Rome was not built in a day)

kaplya i kamen dolbit (little strokes fell great oaks

tyazhela ty shapka Monomakha (it's not easy to wear the crown)

utro vechera mudrennee (in the morning one is wiser than in the evening)
vse dorogi vedut v Rim (all roads lead to Rome)
risk - blagorodnoye delo (nothing ventured, nothing gained)
chekoveku svoystvenno oshibatsya (to err is human)

Journeys, travels,visitors, guests

Dobro pozhalovat! (Welcome!)
chem bogaty, tem i rady (what is ours is also yours)

Friendship

stary drug luchshe novykh dvukh (a friend you know is worth two you don't know)
ne imey sto rubley, a imey sto druzey (friendship is dearer than money)
druzya poznayutsya v bede (a friend in need is a friend indeed)
ne v sluzhbu, a v druzhbu (not as a duty, but as a friendly service)
druzhba druzhboy a tobachek vroz (friends are OK when they don't get in the way)
druzhba druzhboy, a sluzhba sluzhboy (duty before friendship)
kakov gost takovo emu i ugoshcheniye (the food matches the guest)

dlya druga i sem verst ne okolitsa (one can cross the whole land for a friend)
dlya milogo druzhka i serezhka iz ushka (for friends like you there's nothing I won't do)
skazhi mne kto tvoy drug i ya ckazhu kto ty (a man is known by his friends)

The future

pozhivem uvidem (let's wait and see)
bud chto budet (be what may)
budet i na nashey ulitse prazdnik (after clouds comes sunshine)
chelovek predpologayet a Bog raspologayet (man proposes, God disposes)

Proverbs,folk legends, sayings related to:

Decision making, challenges, great tasks

bez truda ne vynesh i rybku iz pruda (you have to work hard even at pulling a fish from the pond)
pervyy blin vsegda komom (the first pancake always turns out a blob)
likha beda nachalo (to get going is the hardest)
terpenye i trud vsyo peretrut (patience and labor will grind down anything)
popytka ne pytka, a spros ne beda (an attempt is no torture, a request is no trouble)
na Boga nadeysya a sam ne ploshay (God helps those who help themselves)
Bog-to Bog, da i sam ne bud plokh (It is good to have god on your side,but still do help yourself)
volkov boyatsya v les ne khodit' (if you're scared of wolves don't go into the forest)
tishe edish dalshe budesh (ride slowly, you'll go further)
smelost goroda beret (bravery conquers cities)
Moskva ne srazu stroilas (Moscow was not built in a day)
kaplya i kamen dolbit (drop by drop a stone is worn)
tyazhela ty shapka Monomakha (heavy is Monomakh's crown)

utro vechera mudrennee (in the morning one is wiser than in the evening)
vse dorogi vedut v Rim (all roads lead to Rome)
risk - blagorodnoye delo (taking a risk is a good thing)
chekoveku svoystvenno oshibatsya (to err is human)

Journeys, travels,visitors, guests

Dobro pozhalovat! (Welcome!)
chem bogaty, tem i rady (we are happy with our wealth [because it's now yours to partake of])

Postmark:

From:	Serge Markov, VOA 619-7576	To:	Jean Burton 456 7750 , FAX 456-6218
Sender:		Copies:	Serge

Subject: Russian Proverbs - literal translations: Friendship, the Future

In Reply To:

Answer To:

Note: 3 pages including cover

Attachment

— Hamsborough / Fix talking pts.
— do not why I wanna be Poets

Proverbs,folk legends, sayings related to:
Friendship

stary drug luchshe novykh dvukh (an old friend is worth two new ones)
ne imey sto rubley, a imey sto druzey (better one hundred friends than one hundred roubles)
druzya poznayutsya v bede (you learn who your true friends are when you are in trouble)
ne v sluzhbu, a v druzhbu (not as a duty, but as a friendly service)
druzhba druzhboy a tobachek vroz (friendship is friendship but let's pay for the tobacco separately)
druzhba druzhboy, a sluzhba sluzhboy (friendship is friendship and duty is duty)
kakov gost takovo emu i ugoshcheniye (the food matches the guest)
dlya druga i sem verst ne okolitsa (for a true friend seven miles is not very far)
dlya milogo druzhka i serezhka iz ushka (to a true friend one will take the earring out of one's ear [as a gift])
skazhi mne kto tvoy drug i ya skazhu kto ty (tell me who your friend is and I will tell you who you are)

The future

pozhivem uvidem (we'll live and see)

bud chto budet (be what may)

budet i na nashey ulitse prazdnik (there will be a holiday on our street too)

chelovek predpologayet a Bog raspologayet (man proposes, God disposes)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date: June 10, 1992

TO: 9:30 group

FROM: KRIS M. DEE
Special Assistant to the
Assistant to the President
for Communications
West Wing, x7620

Please comment on attached. This is a close hold item.

Thanks.

THE STATE VISIT
TO
WASHINGTON, D.C.
OF
HIS EXCELLENCY
BORIS YELTSIN
PRESIDENT
OF
THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION
AND
MRS. YELTSIN

JUNE 15 TO 18, 1992

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

MONDAY
JUNE 15

4:30 pm- 4:50 pm	Greeted by Secretary of State and Mrs. Baker, Chief of Protocol and Mrs. Weinmann and Welcoming Committee, Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland.
4:55 pm- 5:20 pm	Motorcade from Andrews Air Force Base to Blair House.
5:20 pm	Arrive Blair House.

Overnight: Blair House.

Sec. Baker welcome remarks

Ramely - Protocol

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
JUNE 16

Consecutive or simul? neither - whispers in Yeltsin's ear

10:00 am– 10:20 am — Arrival Ceremony with The President and Mrs. Bush, South Lawn, The White House.

10:25 am– 10:45 am — Reception with The President and Mrs. Bush, State Floor, The White House.

10:50 am– 10:55 am — Photo Opportunity with President Bush, Oval Office, The White House.*

11:00 am– 12:15 pm — First Meeting, Oval Office, The White House.*
One-on-One

12:30 pm– 1:40 pm — Working Luncheon offered by Secretary of State Baker in honor of President Yeltsin, Thomas Jefferson Room, Department of State.*
expl. & 9 mbrs each

1:50 pm– 2:20 pm — Wreath-Laying Ceremony at Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Arlington National Cemetery, Arlington, Virginia.* Sec. Cheyne

2:30 pm– 5:30 pm — Second and Third Meetings on Security and Bilateral Issues, Oval Office and Cabinet Room, The White House.*

→ 5:30 pm– 6:15 pm — Tour National Air and Space Museum.*
Sec. Carol + Host

7:15 pm– 7:45 pm — Meeting with The President and Mrs. Bush, Yellow Oval Room, The White House.

*Mrs. Yeltsin does not attend.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

TUESDAY
JUNE 16
(Continued)

8:15 pm- Reception, State Dinner and After-Dinner
10:40 pm Entertainment offered by The President and Mrs. Bush in honor of President and Mrs. Yeltsin, State Floor, The White House.

Dress: Black tie.

Amb. Strauss
Amb. Lukens / and Spouse

Overnight: Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 17

7:45 am– 8:45 am — Working breakfast with Vice President Quayle, Blair House.*

9:00 am– 9:30 am — President Bush and President Yeltsin drop by Conference on Business Development in Russia, J.W. Marriott Hotel.* Chamber of Commerce speech

→ Sec. Franklin links Pkgs; Simultaneous translation / Sec. Franklin - with Yeltsin

9:30 am– 10:30 am — Meeting with Secretary of Commerce Franklin, Blair House.*

11:00 am– 11:45 am — Address by President Yeltsin before Joint Meeting of Congress of the United States, Great Hall, United States House of Representatives, United States Capitol.

12:00 pm– 1:30 pm — Luncheon offered by Congressional Leadership in honor of President Yeltsin, Room H-207, United States Capitol. Senate

2:00 pm– 4:00 pm — President Bush and President Yeltsin helicopter to Annapolis, and tour Chesapeake Bay area aboard United States Navy Yacht and helicopter back to Washington.
10 am walkthrough monday

• 4:30 pm– 4:45 pm — Signing Ceremony, East Room, The White House.
Pkgs speeches / YELTSIN SPEAKS

(Treaty s) first

• 4:45 pm 5:30 pm — Joint Press Conference, East Room, The White House.
Simultaneous -

*Mrs. Yeltsin does not attend.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY
JUNE 17
(Continued)

7:30 pm-
10:30 pm Dinner offered by President and Mrs. Yeltsin in honor of President and Mrs. Bush, Russian Embassy.

[Walk 2:15 Friday 12 June]

Dress: Business Suit.

Overnight: Blair House.

SUMMARY SCHEDULE

THURSDAY
JUNE 18 - mtg. w/ Clinton @ Blair House 8-8:25 a.

8:25 am- 8:30 am	Bid farewell to Blair House staff, Blair House.
8:35 am- 8:40 am	Farewell Ceremony with Secretary of State and Mrs. Baker, Chief of Protocol and Mrs. Weinmann and Farewell Committee, Washington Monument Grounds Reflecting Pool.
8:45 am- 8:55 am	United States Presidential Helicopters to Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland.
9:00 am	His Excellency Boris Yeltsin, President of the Russian Federation, and Mrs. Yeltsin depart Andrews Air Force Base via Russian aircraft en route McConnell Air Force Base, Wichita, Kansas.
10:50 am	Arrive McConnell Air Force Base, Wichita Kansas.
11:25 am- 12:00 pm	Tour Dold Foods, Incorporated.
12:10 pm- 1:00 pm	Meet with students in the Duerksen Fine Arts Center, The Wichita State University.
1:50 pm- 3:10 pm	Tour and bar-b-que at the farm of Mr. and Mrs. Greg Rau.
3:20 pm	President Yeltsin meets with press at McConnell Air Force Base.
3:30 pm	Depart McConnell Air Force Base via Russian aircraft en route Ottawa, Canada.

[- Secty guest list]
cabinet/Legs/Congs./CEOs

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright 1991 National Journal Inc.
National Journal

August 17, 1991

SECTION: FOCUSES; Defense; Vol. 23, No. 33-34; Pg. 2054

LENGTH: 1051 words

HEADLINE: RUSSIA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

BYLINE: DAVID C. MORRISON

DATELINE: MOSCOW

... budget is considered."

As the deadly Cold War chill dissipates, it is fascinating to contemplate the future contours of relations between the two superpowers -- pegged in the early 19th century by French author Alexis de Tocqueville as the behemoths that one day would bestride the world. Whatever happens, Russia will remain a great, continental power. As such, it will always have great interests. And

LEVEL 1 - 2 OF 4 STORIES

January 26, 1990, Friday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 19; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 943 words

HEADLINE: The leading power in the critical place - Germany

BYLINE: William Pfaff, Copyright 1990, Los Angeles Times Syndicate

DATELINE: PARIS

... for its lack of tolerance. In all of this the influence of Germany will be very great.

Tocqueville's celebrated forecast in the 1830s about Russia and America, that "each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe," rested on the assumption that only these two nations had not yet reached their "natural limits." Tocqueville ignored Germany, whose original unification, by Bismarck, was still to take place. In the event it was Germany that swayed global destinies. Its possibilities today remain more open - and more complex - than those of Russia, and probably of the United

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Americans are now prepared not only to read to the Soviets a sermon to which they will not listen, but one that is internally inconsistent.

In Geneva we must prepare for an extended period of siege warfare -- with the Soviets well positioned to exploit differences between our allies and ourselves. The United States has suddenly -- and without thinking the consequences through in advance -- altered the foundations on which East-West relations have rested. That raises anew the question posed by de Tocqueville in the 1840s -- whether a democracy can adequately persevere in a fixed design or await the consequences of its measures with patience.

What then of superpower relations in the future? No one can rely on the early disappearance of the ideological tensions and the arms competition that have characterized the last 40 years. If liberty is to survive outside the Western hemisphere, outside North America, the special role of the United States cannot be significantly altered. Will the United States be able to sustain its unique responsibilities during the decades ahead? The portents are somewhat worrisome. What is required of a great power is stability of policy combined with steadiness in execution.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the national mood was one of self-criticism bordering on masochism. In the 1980s the national mood has

LEVEL 1 - 4 OF 4 STORIES

Copyright (c) 1983 The Washington Post

March 27, 1983, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; Haynes Johnson; A3

LENGTH: 1170 words

HEADLINE: A Chilling Portrait of a World Never Imagined by Tocqueville; PICTURES

BYLINE: By Haynes Johnson

KEYWORD: JOHNSO

BODY:

When he finished his classic work on democracy in America 150 years ago, Alexis de Tocqueville peered into the future with uncanny foresight--and foreboding.

"There are, at the present time, two great nations in the world which seem to tend toward the same end, although they started from different points," he

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(c) 1983 The Washington Post, March 27, 1983

wrote in the 1830s. "I allude to the Russians and the Americans."

All the other nations had nearly reached their natural limits, he said, but the Russians and the Americans were still in the act of growth, "proceeding with ease and with celerity along a path to which the human eye can assign no term . . . . Their starting point is different, and their courses are not the same. Yet each of them seems to be marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

Tocqueville was worried. His concern was that these two nations, so much alike in raw physical energy, frontier youthful exuberance, natural resources and sense of national mission, but so dissimilar in collective cast of mind and method of functioning, eventually would come into fateful collision.

Which remains, of course, the overriding question today, especially as the Soviet-American arms race accelerates and we slide back into a renewal of Cold War tensions.

Walter Lippmann's famous admonition about the dangers of stereotypes has never been more appropriate. As Lippmann put it, we are all trapped by the pictures we carry around in our heads. We believe that the world we know and see is the world that exists. And the world that will be.

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Nick Burns

confidence

Yeltsin to Wash, witch, out

bri eeor –

very begin / arrival
end / departure press conf.

April 9th ① very important to Amer.
different kind of Summit first of kind w/ Dem. leader

② → build up Yeltsin homage visionary reform mind
since Peter the Great – to world outside

dramatically diff kind of leader

③ historic time, opportunity
Challenge 2 face the Democratic piece
3rd time had this chance

→ no prospect of nuclear threat Navy commencement
do not face threat of nuclear conventional war for
first time in 45 years

remain engaged – visionary the future

We next 2 days Show up security relat / broaden
this economic future

What's at Stake

⑤ de Tocqueville quote Rhyphus 2 great powers
2 great powers
would be antagonistic

needs off-ramp to antagonism

welcome as partners allies

— pivot of a new type of leader —

lofty —

tremulous mar, cadences

warm —

task — warmer, person to person - connection
ode to yetsin

what they're 2 do
2 pager - consequative ode to Upstrin
not just govt our people our heart closers open hands agree
- Graceland

sessions of a Regional Administrative Radio Conference held in 1986 in Geneva, and in 1988 in Rio de Janeiro, under the auspices of the ITU. The Agreement is consistent with the proposals of and the positions taken by the United States at the 1988 conference. Given the history of harmful interference to U.S. AM broadcasting stations in the existing AM radio band from various countries in the Region (particularly Cuba), the United States, at the time of signature, submitted statements on this subject that were included in a Final Protocol to the Agreement. The specific statements, with reasons, are given in the report of the Department of State.

I believe that the United States should become a party to this Agreement, which provides for the expansion in an orderly manner of the AM broadcasting service in the Western Hemisphere into the band 1605–1705 kHz. It is my hope that the Senate will take early action on this matter and give its advice and consent to ratification.

George Bush

The White House,
July 30, 1991.

Remarks to Soviet and United States Businessmen in Moscow
July 31, 1991

Good morning. May I pay my respects and thanks to our able Ambassador, Ambassador Matlock. This gives me a good opportunity to thank him for the fantastic job he has done for the United States of America, and I think also that he's done an awful lot to further understanding between the United States of America and the Soviet Union.

May I say good morning to Mr. Bunich, Mr. Vladislavlev, Mr. Tikhonov, and say that I've been looking forward to this meeting.

As Jack said, I was a businessman once myself. That was first in the oil drilling equipment business and then as a drilling contractor. And the risks were high. But I enjoyed that phase of my life. As entrepreneurs and businessmen and risk-takers, you really do hold a key to the future prosperity of the Soviet Union. You possess the power to create a better life for yourselves and your countrymen. There's an old Russian proverb: The one who leads makes a bridge for the others. Businessmen, such as yourselves, are building that bridge to a new and prosperous Soviet Union.

All around the world we see that a free society rests upon the twin pillars of political and economic liberty. For only when free markets and free people work together can we build a better life for all people. You understand that opportunity arises when people act freely, relying on their own talents. Call it what you want—ingenuity, resourcefulness, a can-do attitude—but it all comes down to this: People must be free to work, save, to own their own homes, to take risks, to invest in each other; in essence, to control their own lives.

No conclave of government experts, no matter how brilliant, can match the sheer ingenuity of a market that collects and distributes the wisdom of millions of people, all pursuing their destinies in different ways.

Government does have legitimate responsibilities such as enforcing contracts and protecting private property rights, providing the boundaries of acceptable business behavior. Government must establish rules of fairplay—what we call a level playing field—that builds trust and stability. Once established in the Soviet Union, the rule of law will further attract foreign know-how and investment. There is no question about that.

The United States stands ready to help. We're going beyond loans and subsidies. We're offering our best expertise. We endorsed last year's Soviet observership in the GATT, to help establish normal relations with the trading nations of the world. And to accelerate market reforms and your integration into the global economy, at the recently concluded G–7 meeting in London, special association for the Soviet Union in the IMF—International Monetary Fund—and the World Bank was proposed.

When I return to Washington I will be submitting the United States-Soviet trade agreement to Congress for approval which will generate trade between our countries.

We will also seek most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union. And I'll ask that certain restrictions, technically known as the Stevenson and Byrd amendments, be lifted so that American businesses can better compete for export sales here...

We're also negotiating bilateral tax and investment treaties, and I'd like to see them completed by year's end. They will create a better investment climate between us, help expand our economic partnership as much as possible. In sum, we want to do everything to ensure that our economic relationship expands as quickly as your reforms permit. Freedom brings the opportunity to succeed and, yes, the risk of failure.

The government can act as referee perhaps, but it cannot guarantee success. Free markets are based on the impulsive energy of man's imagination and creativity. And of course, there are risks. I know that from firsthand experience years ago. But there are also rewards for success. Who would have predicted that 15 years ago a group of college students—university students in the United States—working in a garage, would redefine the computer industry in America? Or that a trash collector—a garbage collector from Philadelphia 30 years ago—would today be the head of a $6-billion waste management firm in the United States? When opportunity is at work, you can be a mechanic or a millionaire, and in my country some mechanics are millionaires. Pursuing one's destiny means building a better life. Russian values and traditions are compatible with free enterprise, and they should be preserved. Look at the members of the G–7—Western European nations. Each an industrialized democracy; each with its own values and traditions. The culture and climate of American business may be different than other places, but the power of the idea is universal. It's been applied in thousands of ways by millions of people all over the world.

Those who succeed here should not be insulted and labeled as speculators and exploiters, because they're not. They are the people who will fill the shelves in your stores, put your people to work. We understand now why socialism's attempt to create the new Soviet man simply didn't work, because human nature cannot be destroyed and created anew. We seek instead to build upon the strengths of human nature, to allow men and women to control their own destinies in whatever way works best for them.

This notion of free markets and free people—opportunity for all—this joint venture between political and economic liberty, this is the spirit of democratic capitalism. Everywhere we hear the voices of men and women yearning for freedom, for the chance to control their own destiny, for a stronger link between effort and reward. Some call it the American dream, but it's more than that. It's a universal dream. And it's a dream that the Soviet people are now striving to make real for themselves.

And after talks here, I believe the leaders are grasping this concept. Each of you can bring that dream alive. The creation of small- and medium-sized businesses means meeting payrolls, hiring good men and women, producing goods and services that are most needed by consumers, and improving technologies and methods so as to stay competitive.

Free market principles don't just mean that one or two people go out and get rich quick. It is so much more than that. As our President Woodrow Wilson said: Every great man of business has got somewhere a touch of the idealist in him. For you and your employees, it means the dignity and self-respect that come with the job. It means making a difference in your community. And as more and more businesses evolve—business opportunity evolve—it means bringing back hope to the people of the Soviet Union.

Your task will be difficult, but let me risk some advice. The story goes that a young man became the manager of a company. And his predecessor handed him three envelopes and said that if he was ever in trouble to open the envelopes. So, one day when the business was not going well, the man decided it was time to open up envelope number one. The message inside said: Blame your predecessor. So he did, and things improved for a while. But then they got worse again. So he decided to open up envelope number two. It read: Blame the accounting department. So he did that. But sales continued to go downhill. And finally, with much hesitation, he opened envelope

number three. And it said: Prepare three envelopes. [*Laughter*]

The moral of that story, I think, is that there are no right or wrong answers. I wouldn't be bold enough to try to tell you in three envelopes how to transform this economy from "command and control" to "buy and sell." You must find what works best for each of you and for your customers. You must make the dreams of your own people, in whatever way you can, come alive for them. You must define your own brand of democratic capitalism, one that is consistent with Russian cultures and values.

Remember the words of Tolstoy: The strongest of all warriors are these two, time and patience. Bringing free markets to life will of course take time and patience. But it can be done, because everyone in this room today possesses something that simply cannot be bought or sold. You possess the power of an idea. And I salute you as pioneers for your vision and for your drive.

It's been a great pleasure for me to meet with this very special group today. And I wish you well in the tasks that lie ahead. May God bless you. And thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 8:46 a.m. in the Composer's Hall of the Radisson Hotel. In his remarks, he referred to U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack F. Matlock; Pavel G. Bunich, president of the Association of Leaseholders and Entrepreneurship of the U.S.S.R.; Aleksander P. Vladislavlev, Deputy Chairman of the League of Scientific and Industrial Associations of the U.S.S.R.; and Aleksander A. Tikhanov, president of the Agricultural Academy of the U.S.S.R. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

Remarks by President Gorbachev and President Bush at the Signing Ceremony for the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks Treaty in Moscow

July 31, 1991

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, comrades. In a few moments the President of the United States and I will put our signatures under the treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive arms. This completes many years of efforts that required hard work and patience on the part of government leaders, diplomats, and military officials. They required will, courage, and the rejection of outdated perceptions of each other. They required trust.

This is also a beginning—the beginning of voluntary reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the U.S.S.R. and the United States, a process with unprecedented scope and objectives. It is an event of global significance, for we are imparting to the dismantling of the infrastructure of fear that has ruled the world, a momentum which is so powerful that it will be hard to stop.

In both countries we face the complex process of the ratification of the new treaty. There will be critics. Here in Moscow some will point to our unilateral concessions, while in Washington there will be talk about concessions made to the Soviet Union. Some will say the new treaty does not really fulfill the promise of a peace dividend since considerable resources will be required to destroy the missiles. And if the missiles are not destroyed, critics will say they're obsolete and must be replaced with new ones, and that will be even more expensive.

Sharp criticism is to be expected also from those who want to see faster and more ambitious steps toward abolishing nuclear weapons. In other words, the treaty will have to be defended. I'm sure we have achieved the best that is now possible and that is required to continue progress.

Tremendous work has been done and unique experience has been gained of cooperating in this enormously complex area. It is important that there is a growing realization of the absurdity of overarmament now that the world has started to move toward an era of economic interdependence, and that the information revolution is making the indivisibility of the world ever more evident.

But the policymakers have to bear in mind that as we move toward that era we will have to make new, immense efforts to remove the dangers inherited from the past and newly emerging dangers, to overcome

THEMES FOR GB REMARKS: YELTSIN VISIT

ARRIVAL CEREMONY

(Note: These are important remarks because they will draw maximum public exposure and set the tone for the visit. They should be fairly dramatic and far-reaching, and set out a vision for our future with Russia. Should also be broad and thematic.)

1) -Welcome--first State visit of President of an independent Russia;

-New relationship and a new kind of summit--a meeting of friends and partners, and not of adversaries;

-Friends and partners who share common interests, and common values;

2) -Homage to Yeltsin: Strong U.S. support for courageous and visionary leader;

-Like Peter the Great, you are redefining Russia itself and Russia's role in the world;

-Emphasize Yeltsin as democratic leader with political legitimacy;

3) -New Russian revolution presents opportunity for a democratic peace in Europe and lasting security for the American and Russian peoples;

-Yeltsin arrives at a critical time: the third chance this century for a lasting peace in Europe--U.S. will work to make this one succeed by a policy of active engagement and support;

-This summit a pivotal event in century--two greatest powers working together as friends, partners, to secure the peace:

--With USSR's demise and Russia's ascendency, we have already reduced threat of nuclear and conventional war that hung over us for forty years

--This is an awesome achievement that benefits every American and every Russian

--Our challenge together is to forge a peace that will lead us into a new era in the next century--a permanent peace between the two most powerful countries.

--Over next two days, will discuss possibility of new agreements to reduce radically levels on both sides; new levels of mil. cooperation to permanently reduce risk of war;

--Will also discuss new economic relationship--expanded American business ties to help Russia integrate into world economic system; G-7 package of support for Russia's reforms; Freedom Support Act;

5) -End with de Toqueville prophecy

-American people want peace with Russia. We respect the Russian people and welcome them as partners.

STATE DINNER TOAST

(Note: We would like to focus these remarks on the bilateral relationship--and the importance of expanding ties between the American and Russian people)

1) -Emphasize point about new kind of summit, contrast with past; meeting of friend and partners, but not of adversaries; common agenda and common values;

2) -Importance of reform in Russia to the U.S.

-Security: threat of nuclear war and conventional war in Europe has declined dramatically--the world is a safer place for Americans and Russians. Need now to pursue even stronger security ties and cooperation; in Space Cooperation, non-proliferation, denuclearization;

-Economic: Need to grow closer together, expand private sector ties, and pursue goal of supporting market reforms in Russia; U.S. will continue humanitarian and technical assistance;

-Societal: Changes should lead to greater level of exchanges between Russians and Americans. Cold War separated us; we now need to know each other better in order to work effectively together. GB could call for private sector and universities to bring thousands of Russian students here.

--Also refer to the Open Lands agreement--for the first time, our officials and private citizens will be able to travel freely in each others' countries; and to our aim of establishing an American management institute in Vladivostock.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
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01. Paper	Themes for GB Remarks: Yeltsin Visit; telephone number redacted. (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Boris] Yeltsin State Arrival 6/16/92 [1]

Date Closed: 11/30/2004	**OA/ID Number:** 07576
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

3) -More kind words for Yeltsin

ADDRESS TO U.S.-RUSSIA BUSINESS CONFERENCE 4 page sev. hundred and.

(Note: These should be ten-minute remarks. Audience will be several hundred American and Russian business leaders. Focus should be on the economic agenda, specifically on expansion of trade and investment opportunities. Yeltsin will follow President to podium.)

100 Russians
govt people
entrepreneurs
party people

1) -Welcome business leaders on both sides. Special reference to Sec. Franklin.

-Private sector is key to challenge of helping Russia reform--to integrate Russia into the western system, and help produce growth and trade. generational challenge

-To succeed, Russia will require billions in capital and technologies over the next decade--those funds will come, not from governments, but from private businesses.

2) -U.S. therefore committed to laying foundation for a much greater level of trade and investment:

(will be leaving Arms sign after Summit

-Key elements of new foundation: Trade, BIT and Tax treaties, new OPIC and EXIM programs, Freedom Support Act which clears away all barriers to trade from U.S. side;

Dave Cahn @ OPIC - example Frank Vargo - Commerce

-GB should encourage American firms to work from this foundation to invest and trade; 457-7200 - overseas Private Investment Corp.

3) -GB should also call upon Russia to improve investment conditions for American firms:

--lower barriers to trade, keep taxes manageable;

--Refer to creation of Business Development Committee and participation of our private sector;

--U.S. willing to meet halfway through creation of COCOM Cooperation Forum; new

4) -Need for creative, energetic response and call for massive U.S. investment--unusual circumstances call for an unusual approach.

trade & invest

• talk in Moscow with businessmen (press)

Dave
Cohn

457-7115

fax-872-9325

[redacted]
DAVE @ HOME

Jk 19th Stanch
OPIC agent at Russ Emb. to get info. effort!
Signing of tax treaty

Graph on mission agency; OPIC; 3 gigs work
create US jobs - not just overseas / exports
win-win situation

7142 - OPIC MOSCOW MISSION RECRUITER
Petr Ballinger

- FISHING / BOATING -

reform - Peter Great, Alexander 2nd

RETURN DINNER TOAST

Russian Ambas to U.S.
Parliamentarian

--Focus on democracy in Russia

-homage to the reformers--mention Solzhenitsyn, Lukin, Gaydar

-Praise for Yeltsin's stewardship of reform on political and economic front--how he handled the Congress and respected role and rights of Parliament--rule of law and not of people;

-Support for market reform--prosperous, free economy best guarantor of democracy.

democracy beyond Yeltsin courage/personal example

= - Spaatz house dinner toast -

Praise Yeltsin faced a major crisis vs constitutional & strong arm - did it democratically

all the people -
Red Square -
vote

it's a whole movement there are others →

$19.95

people in our village there were the Yeltsins, my father's family, and the Starygins, my mother's family. My father married my mother there, and soon I made my appearance in the world—their first child.

My mother used to tell me the story of what happened at my baptism. The little church, with its priest, was the only one for the whole district, which consisted of several villages. The birth rate for the area was quite high, but even so the baptismal service was held only once a month. Consequently, that day was a busy one for the priest, and the church was filled to bursting with parents, babies, relatives, and friends. The baptism was conducted in the most primitive fashion: There was a tub full of holy liquid, water seasoned with something or other, in which each baby was completely immersed. The squalling infant was then christened and given a name, which was entered in the parish register. And of course, as was the custom in villages all over Russia, the parents offered the priest a glass of home-brewed beer, moonshine, or vodka —whatever they could afford.

Since my turn did not come until the afternoon, the priest, having drunk many toasts, could barely stand. When my mother, Klavdia Vasilievna, and my father, Nikolai Ignatievich, handed me to him, the priest dropped me into the tub and, being drawn into an argument with a member of the congregation, forgot to take me out. At first, my parents, who were standing at some distance from the baptismal font, didn't know what had happened. When they finally realized what was going on, my mother screamed, leapt forward, and fished me out from somewhere at the bottom of the tub.

They then shook the water out of me. The priest was not particularly worried. He said, "Well, if he can survive such an ordeal, it means he's a good, tough lad—and I name him Boris."

Thus I became Boris Nikolayevich. I won't say that after that I developed any special affinity for religion; of course not.

given a so-called wolf's ticket: a little scrap of white paper that testified to my having completed the required seven years of primary schooling but stated below that I was deprived of the right to acquire a secondary education anywhere in the USSR. My father came home furious and reached for the strap—but at that moment, for the first time, I gripped him by the arm and said, "That's enough. From now on I'm going to educate myself." Never again was I made to stand in the corner all night, and no one ever took the strap to me again.

I refused to accept the decision of the school board and took my case up the education hierarchy: first to the district and then to the city education department. I learned for the first time what a local party committee was. I succeeded in getting a commission of inquiry set up, which investigated the work of that teacher and dismissed her from the school. She got exactly what she deserved, and I got my diploma back, although under the heading "Discipline," the word "unsatisfactory" glared out from the line of otherwise perfect grades.

I decided not to go back to that school and instead entered the eighth grade at Sverdlovsk's Pushkin School, of which I retain the fondest memories. The staff was excellent; and in Angonina Kohonina we had a superb homeroom teacher.

It was then that I began participating in sports. I was fascinated by volleyball and was prepared to play it endlessly. I liked the way the ball obeyed me, that I could return even the most difficult volley. At the same time I took up skiing, gymnastics, decathlon, boxing, and wrestling; I wanted to try my hand at them all, to do absolutely everything well. In the end, volleyball prevailed, and I started playing it seriously. I kept a ball with me all the time, even when I went to bed, when I'd sleep with my hand resting on it. As soon as I woke up I would start practicing by myself—spinning the ball on one finger or bouncing it off the wall and the floor. But because I was

E OF THE PRESIDENT

being used. Gradually I brought things under control, and my workers began to realize that I was right. The worker's conscience is not an empty phrase, so I was able to solve the problem.

There are times when we worked with convicts. I decided to break the tradition under which these men were paid at the rate they demanded instead of the normal rate. At the end of the first month, I calculated the volume of work they had done against the pay they should have gotten at the normal rates. It turned out to be two and a half times less than the amount they were used to getting.

Soon a hulking giant of a man came into my little foreman's office, carrying an ax, which he raised over my head, saying, "Are you going to pay us at the proper rate like they always paid us before you came along, you puppy?" "No," I said. "In that case," he replied, "you just remember that I've got nothing to lose. I'll smash your skull before you've even had time to squeak." I saw from the look in his eyes that he might easily have split my head open without batting an eyelid.

I could have dodged him or tried somehow to tackle him, but the room was cramped and the ax was already poised over my head. So I decided on an unexpected move. I have a very loud, powerful voice, and with great effect in that tiny room, I gave a sharp, full-throated roar of "Get out," while looking him straight in the eye. He suddenly lowered his ax, dropped it, turned around, and went out in silence, his back bent in submission. Exactly what went on in his mind at that moment is hard to say.

I was once sent as section chief to a unique site—a half-built worsted mill. It was a huge seven-story building, consisting only of a framework of reused steel girders that looked like a skeleton. It had been there a long time and was quite rusty, but instructions had come from above to develop light industry, and it had been decided to finish the building. I was put in charge of this complex project. I was living in a hostel

E OF THE PRESIDENT

The chief accountant did not forget his humiliation in court, and being a member of the party committee, he tried to trip me up during the interview I had to undergo as part of my application for party membership. He asked me on what page of which volume of *Das Kapital* Marx refers to commodity-money relationships. Assuming that he had never read Marx closely and had, of course, no idea of either the volume or the page number in question, and that he didn't even know what commodity-money relationships were, I immediately answered, half-jokingly, "Volume Two, page 387." What's more I said it quickly, without pausing for thought. To which he replied with a sage expression, "Well done. You know your Marx well." After it all, I was accepted as a party member. But the willful behavior of the general manager lasted until I was given the job of chief engineer at an industrial complex that was bigger than his trust.

Another severe reprimand I received was entered in my records in the office of the City Committee of the Party. I had become the head of a construction enterprise. The man who preceded me in the job was appallingly slovenly in his work and a drunkard as well. Any job that could be ruined, he ruined, including the one I was assigned to—the building of a boarding school, which was scheduled to be finished by the end of the year. In September, when I took over, they were still laying bricks for the first floor, and there were to be four floors. There was no hope of its being completed by the end of the year. At the beginning of the following year, I was received into the party by the district committee, and my membership card was issued at a solemn ceremony. The next day I attended the meeting of the City Committee of the Party, at which it published its report summing up the previous year. Suddenly I heard: "Let's give Yeltsin a severe reprimand to be entered in his records—just to teach the others a lesson."

I went up to the rostrum and spoke. "Comrade members

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who was a realist, and they accepted his foreign policy based on "new thinking." Everyone realized that to go on living and working as we had done for so many years was simply impossible. It would have been national suicide. A big step had been taken in the right direction, although, of course, it was a revolution from above. Such revolutions inevitably turn against the bureaucratic apparat if it is unable to keep the popular initiative within bounds. And that apparat started to resist *perestroika*, to slow it down and fight against it, with the result that it has effectively skidded to a halt. What is more, I'm afraid it has turned out that the concept of *perestroika* was not properly thought through. To a large degree it appeared to be represented only by a selection of new, fine-sounding slogans and appeals.

When I read Gorbachev's book *Perestroika*, I thought I would find in it an answer to the question of how he sees our way forward, but somehow the book did not give me the impression of conceptual wholeness. It is not clear how he sees the overall restructuring of our house, nor from which materials he plans to rebuild it, nor which set of drawings he is using. The main trouble with Gorbachev is that he has never worked out a systematic, long-term strategy. There are only slogans. It is amazing to think that more than four years have passed since April 1985, when *perestroika* was proclaimed. Somehow this period is referred to everywhere as "the new beginning," "the initial stage," and "the first steps." Yet in actual fact, four years is a long time. In the United States it is the length of a presidential term, and in those four years a president must do as much as he can of what he promised to do, insofar as he is able. If the country has not moved forward in that time, another president is elected to replace him. Under President Reagan a number of improvements took place, and he was reelected. He turned out not to be such a simpleton as we had been led to believe—although several sore spots remained, which he was unable to cure in

eight years. Nevertheless, the major improvements, especially in the American economy, were there for all to see.

With us, on the other hand, the situation has grown so critical over the past four years that today we are afraid of what tomorrow may bring. In particular, the state of the economy is catastrophic. There Gorbachev's chief weakness —his fear of taking the decisive but difficult steps that are needed—has been fully revealed.

Let us not, however, get too far ahead of my story. In 1986, I became a candidate member of the Politburo, and I was plunged into a completely new kind of life. I participated in all the sessions of the Politburo and sometimes in the secretariat of the Central Committee. The Politburo met every Thursday at eleven in the morning and would finish its sessions at varying times: at four, five, seven, or even eight in the evening.

The sessions were not at all like those that Brezhnev chaired, when the wording of various draft decrees was rubber-stamped and everything was dealt with in fifteen or twenty minutes. He would ask if there were any objections, which there never were, and then the Politburo would adjourn. Brezhnev had only one passion—hunting—and he devoted himself to it till the very end.

Under Gorbachev it was very different. The sessions usually began with the full members of the Politburo gathering in one room. The candidate members, the second category of Politburo membership, and the Central Committee secretaries, the third category, were lined up in a row in the conference room to await the appearance of the general secretary. After him the other full members would file into the room in order of seniority. Usually Gorbachev was immediately followed by Gromyko, then came Kobachev, Ryzhkov, and then the others, in alphabetical order. Like two ice hockey teams they would pass along our row, shaking hands with each one of us, sometimes saying a word or two in pass-

least he could have kept his mouth shut. That would have been the more honorable course.

Thus I was feeling harassed and tense as the start of the conference approached. Every day brought something new, little of it pleasant, until I had forgotten that there was such a thing as good news.

The Nineteenth Party Conference opened in the Kremlin's Palace of Congresses. I was nervously excited as I drove to the opening session. After so many rumors, after the long conspiracy of silence, I was appearing in public for the first time, and I was well aware of the varying reactions I would encounter. A lot of curious people simply wanted to look at me, and it was these stares that irritated me most. I felt almost like an elephant in a zoo. Some of my old acquaintances averted their eyes in a cowardly fashion, in case they might be infected by this leper. I felt absolutely unnatural, almost persecuted, and tried to stay in my seat during the breaks between sessions. There were, of course, those who came up to me quite calmly, asked me how I was, and expressed their support in words, smiles, and looks.

The Karelian delegation was seated far back in the balcony. There was a space of only about six feet between our heads and the ceiling, and the presidium was barely visible. The speeches followed one after another, and as usual, some were bold and interesting but the majority were sets of ready-made clichés that had been approved in advance by the apparat.

Even so, the party conference was an important step forward. Perhaps for the first time in a party forum, delegates voted against some of the resolutions, unlike the monotonous unanimity that was the rule in the past. I had prepared a fighting speech, in which I had decided to raise the question of my political rehabilitation.

But first I had to get the right to speak. I knew that everything possible would be done to keep me away from the rostrum. The people who were organizing the conference were

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well aware that my speech would be loaded with criticism, and they did not want to hear it.

And so, on the fifth and last day of the conference, it was announced that three speakers would have the floor before lunch; they would be proposed and voted on. That was all. I kept thinking: How am I going to speak? I sent a note to the presidium, to which there was no answer. I sent another, with the same result. When the list of speakers was read out and my name was not among them, I decided on an extreme measure. I said to my fellow members of the Karelian delegation: "Comrades, there is only one thing left for me to do. I must take the rostrum by storm." They agreed. I descended the long staircase to the doors leading straight down the center aisle to the rostrum, and I asked the KGB guards to open the doors. The officials of the KGB, who have usually treated me respectfully, flung open the double doors. I took out my red admission card, held it over my head, and strode firmly down the long aisle straight toward the presidium.

By the time I had reached the middle of that vast auditorium, everyone realized what was afoot, including the members of the presidium. The speaker—a delegate from Todjikistan, I think—broke off in the middle of his speech. A sickening deathly silence fell on the entire assembly. In that silence, with my red card held up in my outstretched hand, I walked straight forward, looking Gorbachev right in the eye. Every step reverberated within my soul. I could feel the breathing of more than five thousand people, every one of them staring at me. Reaching the presidium, I climbed the three steps, approached Gorbachev with my red card held out, and, staring at him, said in a firm voice: "I demand to be allowed to speak. Or put my request to the vote of the whole conference." There was a moment or two of confusion, but I stood my ground. Finally Gorbachev said: "Take a seat in the front row." I sat down in the front row, immediately below the rostrum, and I watched as the Politburo members held a

whispered consultation. Then Gorbachev called up the head of the general department of the Central Committee, who after more whispering went out of the hall. Very soon an assistant came up to me and said: "Boris Nikolayevich, you are requested to go to the presidium's anteroom, where they would like a word with you." I inquired: "Who wants a word with me?" He replied: "I don't know," to which I replied: "No, that arrangement doesn't suit me. I shall stay here." He went away. The head of the general department returned and again conversed in whispers with the presidium, and there was more nervous movement among its members. Once again the assistant approached me, saying that one of the presidium members would come and see me in a moment or two.

I began to realize that I must not leave the hall; if I did, the doors would not be opened to me again. I said I would leave the front row but would wait in the hall to see which member of the presidium was going to talk to me. As I tiptoed back up the aisle, people in the front rows whispered to me not to leave the auditorium. I stopped three or four yards short of the exit, turned, and looked at the presidium. A group of journalists was seated near me, and they, too, advised me not to leave. I was now quite sure that I must not go out. None of the presidium members stood up. The speaker went on with his speech. The same assistant came up to me again and said that Gorbachev had promised that I would be allowed to speak but that I must first go back to the Karelian delegation. I realized that before I could get back to the gallery and return, the time for speeches would have expired and I would not be allowed to speak. So I said that I would not go back upstairs; that I had formally left the delegation and would not return; and that I preferred to sit in the front row seat that had been offered to me. I turned sharply around, went back down the aisle, and resumed my place in the front row, directly facing Gorbachev.

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that citizens are free to combine in social organizations and parties. We should also delete Article 6 from the Constitution, which legitimizes the Communist Party's monopoly of power.

Another important issue is the relationship between church and state. Stalin succeeded in creating the only state in the world in which even the church was brought to its knees and subordinated to it. Only now, and with great difficulty, has the church begun to recover consciousness after the crushing blows delivered to it over many decades. The facts of the recent past that we can now read in the press—such as how priests informed on their parishioners to the party authorities and the KGB—bear witness not to the degeneration of the church but to the fact that when a society is sick, all its limbs become unhealthy too. Today the church has begun to recover its health, and I am convinced that the moment is coming when, with its message of eternal, universal values, it will come to the aid of our society. For in these words: Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, lie those very moral principles that will enable us to survive even the most critical situations. The principle of freedom of conscience is written into our Constitution, but we know only too well how that principle has been observed in practice. And that article of the Constitution will remain a dead letter until the economic and political reform of our country has been made a reality, until the worth of the human individual becomes the paramount value in our society. At present the opposite prevails: The paramount value of our system of rule by the party bureaucracy is the state. And we have to serve the state. I hope—at least I am doing and will do everything I can to this end—that it is only a matter of months, weeks, days before that service to the state comes to an end.

Now a word about the KGB, the army, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which controls the police and a large contingent of special troops. Here, of course, the situation is more

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cians; altogether I received fifteen invitations. The trip was originally meant to last for two weeks, but the Central Committee would let me go for only one week. This was a disaster for the people who were organizing my visit, and they asked me not to disrupt the schedule but to try to fit most of the planned engagements and lectures into a single week. At school and later at the polytechnic, I had studied Marx's theory of the exploitation of man by man under capitalism. I now experienced that indisputable theory being applied to myself. Sleeping for only two or three hours a day, I flew from one state to another, attended meetings or made speeches six or seven times a day, without letup for a week, during which I visited nine states and eleven cities. After running that marathon at the pace of a dash, I came to my senses only on the plane returning me to Moscow, and it is now my dream to go back to America, but this time to see it not as in a speeded-up film but calmly and without haste, so that I can examine those details of the country for which on my first trip there was no time to spare.

A great deal has been written about my trip to America, both there and in the Soviet Union, so I doubt whether it is worth dwelling on the overall results of the journey. I met with many interesting people, from President Bush to ordinary Americans on the streets of those eleven cities. No doubt it will sound banal, but what surprised me most were precisely those ordinary people in America, who radiated optimism and faith in themselves and in their country. There were, of course, shattering experiences of another sort—the supermarkets, for example. When I saw those shelves crammed with hundreds, thousands of cans, cartons, and goods of every possible sort, for the first time I felt quite frankly sick with despair for the Soviet people. That such a potentially superrich country as ours has been brought to a state of such poverty! It is terrible to think of it.

Under the terms agreed in advance with the organizers of

my trip, I was paid fees for the lectures that I gave at universities. On the last day, it turned out that after deducting all the expenses covering the costs of our four-man group, the sum remaining at my disposal was $100,000. I decided to contribute that money to the Soviet anti-AIDS campaign by acquiring a consignment of single-use hypodermic syringes, and only a week later the first shipment of 100,000 syringes arrived in Moscow for distribution to eleven children's hospitals. The total order was for a million syringes, which accounted for the money down to the last cent.

I raise this because at the very moment when I was signing the document ordering my American earnings to be spent on those syringes, the first morning editions of *Pravda* were going on sale in Moscow's kiosks with an article reprinted from the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica*. It reported that throughout my time in America I had been hopelessly drunk. The journalist even quoted the exact quantities of what I had allegedly drunk during the whole trip (although here the Italian's imagination had clearly failed him; only a weak-headed foreigner could have been brought to his knees by those amounts of alcohol). It also appeared that the Moscow hospitals would have to wait in vain for the syringes, because I was alleged to have spent all my money on video recorders and videocassettes, on presents for myself, consisting of suits, white shirts, shoes, and other finery; that I hardly ever emerged from a series of supermarkets, where I had nothing to say but "I'll have that . . . and that . . . and that!" The article (translated and published by *Pravda* with uncharacteristic speed) made me look like the usual drunken, lumbering, ill-mannered Russian bear at his first encounter with civilized society.

I had known, of course, that my trip would provoke a fiercely negative reaction from the top level of the Soviet establishment. I had suspected that there would be attempts to compromise me and discredit my visit to the U.S.A. But I

(continued from front flap)

tomatic. Our huge country is balanced on a razor's edge, and nobody knows what will happen to it tomorrow.

It is slightly easier for the readers of this book than for me as I write. They will already know what has happened tomorrow, will know where I am and what has become of me.

They will already know what has happened to the Soviet Union. And to all of us.

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AGAINST THE GRAIN

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BORIS YELTSIN

TRANSLATED BY MICHAEL GLENNY

SUMMIT BOOKS
New York London Toronto Sydney Tokyo Singapore

Quote "The Speakers Digest" Vol. 52 Num. 5 May '92

June 2-4, 1992: *American Association for Retired Persons (AARP),* biennial convention. Ralph Nader, consumer advocate; **Ed Bradley,** CBS News; **Lee Iacocca,** Chrysler Motors; **Lady Bird Johnson; Shirley Chisholm,** others. Gonzalez Convention Center, San Antonio, Texas.

June 24-24, 1992: *Institute of Food Technologists* annual convention. Dr. **David Kessler,** Commissioner, U.S. Food and Drug Administration, keynote; 15,000 food scientists, technologists; 900 research papers; trade exhibitions. New Orleans Convention Center.

June 21-25: *Kiwanis International,* 77th Annual Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana

June 27-30. 1992: *American Library Association,* 111th Annual Conference and Exhibition, Moscone Convention Center, San Francisco.

June 28-July 5, 1992: *Barbershop Harmony Society,* SPEBSQSA International Convention, New Orleans.

July 4, 1993: *Movement for Leisure Activities in Science and Technologies* (MILSET; international youth science clubs, headquarters, Paris, France); 3rd International Expo, Civic Center, Amarillo, Texas. **Sam Adouri,** 806-335-2316.

The thief admitted to having repeatedly broken into the same dress shop. "What did you steal?" asked the judge.

"A dress for my wife," he explained. "But she made me exchange it three times."

Danny Pyles

Joke business prospers

Tough times are a lot of fun for Gene Rose . . . chairman of the largest producer of rubber chickens [who] expects 1992 to be a banner year. "There are very, very few true and pure joke shops left throughout the country," adds Harold Bengin, owner of Jack's Joke Shop . . . in Boston.

Mr. Rose liked some screaming doormats he saw on a recent trip to Hong Kong. His company's previous hits [include] "Man-T-Hose" panty hose for men, and the electric nose cleaner, a finger attached to an electric cord. "That was very, very funny," he recalls proudly. "I remember one woman who brought it back and said it didn't work. There's always somebody who doesn't know it's meant to be a joke."

Carrie Dolan; "Hard Times Mean Yuks for Gag Trade"; Wall Street Journal

Contemporary Wisdom

A cantankerous part of New York will just for the exercise come out against someone who looks like they have it. It's like: He's good, he's smart, he's done a good campaign. Well, we kind of resent that.

David Garth
Political consultant; USA Today

I have to give the Democrats credit. That way, they'll have the money for the plans they are proposing. The Republicans are no better. They say poor Americans do have health insurance, only it has a 100% deductible.

Frank Romano
"Frank Talk"; TypeWorld

The leading deadly drug . . . for the entire nation is tobacco [which] is as addictive as heroin and cocaine. The Centers for Disease Control estimate national tobacco deaths at 400,000 per year. That's over 1,000 per day. Yet nationally, illegal drug deaths from all causes are, at a maximum, in the range of 10,000 to 15,000 per year . . . Alcohol use results in about 100,000 deaths per year in the U.S.

Eric E. Sterling
President, Criminal Justice Policy Foundation

Because of its size and historical traditions, Russia is destined to be a geopolitical superpower, influencing the political life of Eurasia and the planet as a whole. An American-Russian alliance could restore the strategic equilibrium that has changed radically in recent years.

Gary Kasparov
World chess champion; head of Moscow region, Democratic Party of Russia

When I taught advanced placement calculus 30 years ago, I gave my highest grade to a lazy and arrogant 14-year-old genius, while trying to convince him that he was totally un-

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Quote®

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" . . . I quote others only the better to express myself."

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QUOTE® is the only publication of its kind in the world -

May we QUOTE you . . .

Edith Cresson *Prime Minister of France* - The Japanese have a strategy of world conquest. They have finished their job in the US. Now they're about to devour Europe.

Lance Arrington *President Philip Crosby Associates* - Human beings are not like a package of mashed potatoes. You can't add water and achieve a reformed human being. Poor quality is the result of years of acculturation, socialization, and inculcation in the belief that mistakes are acceptable.

Richard Stengel *Time* - Like Leonardo, Michael Jordan is now his own greatest competition. When you make the miraculous routine, the merely superb becomes ordinary.

Richard A. Bloch *H&R Bloch; cancer survivor* - The second greatest cause of cancer deaths - after smoking - is equating cancer with death; when people are diagnosed, they give up instead of fighting.

O.A. Battista - Cold feet can often put you in hot water.

Katharine Hepburn *Actress* - If you want to sacrifice the admiration of many men for the criticism of one, go ahead, get married.

Lee Trevino *Golfer* - My wife doesn't care what I do when I'm away as long as I don't have fun.

Jim McNeil *Newspaper Writer* - I said it before and I'll say it again: If there is anything more annoying than a leaf blower whining in the neighborhood all day, it's TWO leaf blowers whining in the neighborhood all day.

Jimmy Carter - Show me a good loser and I'll show you a loser.

Martin Mull *Comedian* - Having a family is like having a bowling alley installed in your brain.

Peter Ustinov *Actor/Writer* - Once you think you've found freedom - someone else builds a prison around it. You can't get out. All you can do is furnish it as attractively as possible.

Quote

VOL. 51 NUM. 12 DEC. '91

4. By correcting our mistakes as soon as we recognize them.

It may take a long time for the new Manville to convince some people that we've learned from the mistakes of the past. Our actions will have to speak for themselves and gain that respect. It will take time. But it would be sad if business leaders didn't learn from the Manville legacy.

George C. Dillon
Director, Manville Corporation

It is not easy

To apologize,
To begin over,
To be unselfish,
To Take advice,
To admit error,
To face a sneer,
To be charitable,
To keep on trying,
To be considerate,
To avoid mistakes,
To endure success,
To profit by mistakes,
To forgive and forget,
To think and then act,
To keep out of the rut,
To make the best of little,
To subdue an unruly temper,
To maintain a high standard,
To shoulder a deserved blame,
To recognize the silver lining,
But it always pays: try it.

Anonymous

Russia's book of proverbs

¶ Wag your tongue as much as you please, but don't wave your gun.

¶ The future is his who knows how to wait.

¶ Better turn back than lose your way.

¶ We are related: the same sun dries our rags.

¶ The slower you drive, the farther you get.

¶ A bad compromise is better than a good battle.

¶ Even the doorstep of the rich finds itself embarrassed by the boor.

¶ Once a word is out of your mouth you can't swallow it again.

¶ Life is unbearable, but death is not so pleasant either.

¶ What good is honor on an empty stomach?

¶ Fools shoot and God directs the bullet.

¶ Better the first quarrel than the last.

¶ If we knew beforehand where we were going to fall, we could lay down a carpet.

¶ Live a hundred years, learn a hundred years - still you die a fool.

¶ The Russian has three principles: perhaps, somehow, and never mind.

James Reston

My wife is already making Christmas cookies. Hundreds of cookies in all those wonderful little Christmas shapes. An elf. A Santa. A tree. A star. A Visa card.

Contemporary Comedy

New form for democra

Conflict in society is not only sary, it is, within limits, desirabl if one hundred men all despe want the same brass ring, they m forced to fight for it. On the hand, if each of the hundred has ferent objective, it is far more rev ing for them to trade, cooperate form symbiotic relationships. C *appropriate social arrangements, a sity can make for a secure and st civilization.*

. . . Today, in a dangerous world cannot afford to delegate total powe anyone, we cannot surrender even weak popular influence that ex under majoritarian systems, and cannot allow tiny minorities to ma vast decisions that tyrannize all ot minorities.

This is why we must drastically revi the crude Second Wave methods which we pursue the elusive majorit We need new approaches designe for a democracy of minorities methods whose purpose is to revea differences rather than to paper ther over with forced or fake majorities based on exclusionary voting, sophis tic framing of the issues, or rigged electoral procedures. We need, in short, to modernize the entire system so as to strengthen the role of diverse minorities yet permit them to form majorities.

Alvin Toffler
The Third Wave

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Brassey's Soviet and Communist Quotations

Compiled and Edited by

ALBERT L. WEEKS

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422. No one denies that [the new struggle] will be a struggle outside the Duma. Owing to the objective conditions of the present situation, it will be a struggle directly aimed at the destruction of the old regime.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 30.

423. The progressive class must therefore consistently expose to the masses the falsity of all hopes of negotiations and agreements with the old regime in general and of agreements between landlords and peasants over the land question [as decided in the Duma] in particular. The progressive class must pursue its independent line of undeviating struggle, supporting only those who are really fighting, and to the extent that they do fight.

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, p. 458.

424. A real revolutionary illegal party, steeled in battle, accustomed to the Plehves, and undismayed by the stern measures of the Stolypins, may, in the period of civil war, be capable of influencing the masses to a greater degree than any legal party, which with "callow simplicity," takes a "strictly constitutional path."

Lenin, V., *Collected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968), vol. 11, pp. 287–288.

FREEDOM AND LIBERTY

Marxist-Leninist Theory of

425. . . . What does it mean: Freedom to move from place to place? It means that the peasant must be free to go where he pleases, to move wherever he wants to, to choose for himself the village or the town he prefers, without having to ask for permission. It means that passports must be abolished in Russia too [in foreign countries passports were abolished long ago], that no police officer, no Zemsky Nachalnik must be allowed to stop any peasant from settling down or working wherever he pleases. The Russian peasant is still the serf of the officials to such an extent that he is not free to move to a town, or free to settle in a new district. The Minister issues orders that the governors should not allow unauthorized settlement! The governors know better than the peasant what is good for the peasant! The peasant is a child who dares not move without authority! Is this not serfdom, I ask you?

Lenin, V., "To the Rural Poor" (1903). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 2, p. 280.

426. We demand immediate and unconditional recognition by the authorities of freedom of assembly, freedom of press and an amnesty for all "political" prisoners and dissenters. Until this is done, all words about tolerance, about religious liberty, will remain a miserable game and an indecent lie. Until freedom of assembly, of speech and of the press is declared, there will not disappear the shameful Russian inquisition which persecutes profession of unofficial faith, unofficial opinions, unofficial doctrines.

Lenin, V., "The Autocracy is Tottering" (March 1, 1903). *Sochineniya* (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1946), vol. 6, p. 314.

427. . . . We must not forget that there is not, nor can there be at the present time, any other means of bringing socialism nearer than by complete political liberty,

a democratic republic, a revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. . . .

Lenin, V., "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" (1905). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 3, p. 122.

428. The real freedom of the Slav peasant in the Balkans, as of the Turkish peasant, can be secured only through full freedom inside each country and through the federation of complete democratic states.

Lenin, V., "An Infamous Resolution," *Pravda*, no. 149, October 1912. *Collected Works* (3rd Russian edition, Gospolitizdat, Moscow), vol. 16, p. 161.

429. Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no classes (i.e., when there is no difference between the members of society as regards their relationship to the social means of production), only then does "the state . . . cease to exist," and it "becomes possible to speak of freedom." Only then will really complete democracy without any exceptions be possible and be realized. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away owing to the simple fact that freed from . . . the infamies of capitalist exploitation, peoples will gradually become accustomed to observing the elementary rules of social life . . . without the special apparatus for compulsion which is called the state.

Lenin, V., "The State and Revolution" (1917). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 7, p. 81

430. . . . It is nobody's fault that he was born a slave, but a slave who is not only alien to the struggle for his freedom, but justifies and eulogizes his slavery . . . such a slave is a knave and a scoundrel who arouses a just feeling of indignation, contempt and loathing.

Lenin, V., "On National Pride of Great Russians." *Selected Works* (3rd Russian ed., Gospolitizdat, Moscow), vol. 18, p. 81.

431. The right of nations to self-determination means only the right to independence in a political sense, the right to free, political secession from the oppressing nation. Concretely, this political, democratic demand implies complete freedom to carry on agitation in favor of secession, and freedom to settle the question of secession, as by means of referendum of the nation that desires to secede. Consequently, this demand is by no means identical with the demand for secession, for the partition and for the formation of small states. It is merely the logical expression of the struggle against national oppression in any form.

Lenin, V., "The Socialist Revolution and the Rights of Nations to Self-Determination." *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 5, p. 270.

In the USSR

432. We did not build this society in order to restrict personal liberty but in order that the human individual may feel really free. We built it for the sake of real personal liberty, liberty without quotation marks. It is difficult for me to imagine what "personal liberty" is enjoyed by an unemployed person who goes around hungry and cannot find employment. Real liberty can exist only where exploitation has been abol-

547. The United Nations Organization was created in order to implant such international cooperation among the great and small countries as would in the largest possible measure conform to the interests of all peace-loving states. From the very beginning it was obvious that to this end it was above all necessary to guarantee concerted action on the part of the great powers. At that time it was known as well as now that it was a question of international cooperation in which the efforts of states with various political structures should be united for the sake of peace and security. . . .

As before, [the Soviet Union] is true to the principles of such international cooperation and is prepared to spare no effort for the achievement of success along those lines. Accordingly, the USSR stands unshakeably for the respect of the United Nations Organization and deems it essential that its Charter be honestly and consistently observed. Naturally, such international cooperation can only be really successful if the other powers also manifest in deeds their readiness to follow the same path. . . .

The recognition of the principles of such international cooperation has a profound meaning. It reflects the firm will to achieve universal peace and readiness to enter into peaceful competition in the social and economic sphere between states and social systems.

Molotov, V., "Soviet Union and International Cooperation" Speech at General Assembly of UN, October 29, 1946, *Izvestiya*, October 31, 1946.

548. It is hardly possible, however, that the contemporary gravediggers of sovereignty are so naive as to believe in earnest that peace and harmony on earth can be obtained by the creation of an international parliament.

"Contemporary Bourgeois Sociology," *Bolshevik*, no. 22, 1946, p. 51.

PEACE

549. Peace must be fought for . . . by way of revolutionary battles waged under the banner of socialism.

Lenin, V., "Peace Program" in *Sotsial Demokrat*, no. 52, March 25, 1916, cited in *SVE*, vol. 4, 1977, p. 602.

550. . . . Every "peace program" is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolution, and to support, aid and develop the revolutionary struggle of the masses that is starting everywhere [ferment among the masses, protests, fraternization in the trenches, strikes, demonstrations . . .].

Lenin, V., "Central Committee Proposals Submitted to Socialist Conference" (April 1916). *Selected Works* (International Publishers, New York, 1943), vol. 5, p. 237.

551. If socialism does not attain victory, peace is only a truce.

Lenin, V., "For Bread and Peace," December 14, 1917.

552. In war never tie your hands with considerations of formality. It is ridiculous not to know . . . that a treaty is a means of gaining strength . . . signing of a treaty after a defeat is a means of building up strength.

Lenin, V., "Reply to the Debate on War and Peace" (1919).

553. "Both you and I," Lenin reminded [Foreign Minister] Chicherin, "have fought against pacifism as a program for a revolutionary proletarian party. This is obvious. But where, when, or who ever denied that the pacifists could be exploited by this party in order to demoralize the enemy, the bourgeoisie?"

Lenin, V., *The Philosophical Heritage of V.I. Lenin*, p. 37. *Polnoye Sobraniye Sochinenii* (*Complete Works*), 5th ed. vol. 54, p. 171.

554. 31. The international policy of the USSR is a peace policy, which conforms to the interests of the ruling class in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, viz., the proletariat. This policy rallies all the allies of the proletarian dictatorship around its banner and provides the best basis for taking advantage of the antagonisms among the imperialist states. The aim of this policy is to guard the international revolution and to protect the work of building up socialism—the progress of which is revolutionizing the world. It strives to put off the conflict with imperialism for as long as possible. In regard to the capitalist states, to their mutual relationships and to their relationships with their colonies, this policy implies: Opposition to imperialist war, to predatory colonial campaigns, and to pacifism, which camouflages these campaigns.

The peace policy of the proletarian state certainly does not imply that the Soviet state has become reconciled with capitalism, as the Social-Democrats and their Trotskyite allies declare in order to discredit the Soviet state in the eyes of the international proletariat. This policy is the Leninist policy of the proletarian dictatorship. It is merely another—and under present conditions—a more advantageous form of fighting capitalism; a form which the USSR has consistently employed since the October Revolution.

32. The proletariat in the Soviet Union harbors no illusions as to the possibility of a durable peace with the imperialists. The proletariat knows that the imperialist attack against the Soviet Union is inevitable; that in the process of a proletarian world revolution, wars between proletarian and bourgeois states, wars for the emancipation of the world from capitalism, will necessarily and inevitably arise. Therefore, the primary duty of the proletariat, as the fighter for socialism, is to make all the necessary political, economic and military preparations for these wars, to strengthen its Red Army—that mighty weapon of the proletariat—and to train the masses of the toilers in the art of war. There is a glaring contradiction between the imperialists' policy of piling up armaments and their hypocritical talk about peace. There is no such contradiction, however, between the Soviet government's preparations for defense and for revolutionary war and a consistent peace policy. Revolutionary war of the proletarian dictatorship is but a continuation of revolutionary peace policy "by other means."

Theses of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International" (1928). *International Press Correspondence*, vol. 8, no. 84, November 28, 1928, p. 1590.

555. . . . It goes without saying that not a single communist thought for a moment that the imperialists would accept the Soviet disarmament proposals. . . .

. . . The disarmament policy of the Soviet government must be utilized for purposes of agitation. . . . However, they must not be utilized as a pretext for advancing similar demands in capitalist countries, but as a means: (1) for recruiting sympathizers for the Soviet Union—the champion of peace and socialism; (2) for utilizing the results of the Soviet disarmament policy and its exposure of the imperialists in the effort to eradicate all pacifist illusions and to carry on propaganda among the masses in support of the only way toward disarmament and abolition of war, viz.,

arming of the proletariat, overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establishing the proletarian dictatorship.

Theses and Resolutions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. *International Press Correspondence*, vol. 8, no. 84, November 28, 1928, pp. 1596–1597.

556. The international policy of the USSR is a peace policy. . . . It is merely another—under present conditions—more advantageous form of fighting capitalism.

Theses and Resolutions of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International (1928). *International Press Correspondence*, vol. 8, no. 84, November 28, 1928, p. 1590.

557. Our policy is the policy of peace and of the development of trading relations with all countries . . . the result of this policy is the fact that we have succeeded in preserving peace and we have not let ourselves be involved in any military conflicts, despite a series of provocative acts and provocative raids which have been carried out by the war-mongers. It is our intention to continue this policy of peace with all our strength and with all the means in our power. We do not covet a hand's breadth of foreign territory but we are not prepared to surrender an inch of our own to anyone. This is our foreign policy. Our task is to continue this policy for the future with all the persistence which invariably characterizes the Bolsheviks.

Stalin, J., "Report to 16th Congress of CPSU(b)" (June 27, 1930). *Leninism* (Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers, Moscow, 1933), vol. 2, pp. 264–265.

558. 1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; we shall adhere to it as long as these countries maintain like relations with the USSR and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the USSR. That is our position; we shall adhere to it.

3. We stand for the support of nations who are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate Soviet borders.

Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

In this foreign policy we rely on:

1. Growing economic, cultural and political might of the USSR.
2. Moral and political unity of Soviet society.
3. Mutual friendships of nations of our country.
4. Red Army and Red Navy.
5. Our policy of peace.
6. Moral support of working people of all countries who are vitally concerned with the preservation of peace.
7. The good sense of countries which for one reason or another, have no interest in violation of the peace.

The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

1. Continue the policy of peace and strengthening business relations with all countries.

2. Be cautious and not allow the country to be drawn into conflict with warmongers who are accustomed to have others draw chestnuts out of fire for them.

3. Strengthening international bonds of friendship with working people of all countries who are interested in peace and friendship among nations.

Stalin, J., "Report on Work of Central Committee to 18th Congress of CPSU(b)" (March 10, 1939). *Problems of Leninism* (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1940), pp. 629–630.

559. The masking of purely aggressive and predatory aims for the sake of which wars are undertaken is constantly encountered in history. . . .

Examples of the concealment of predatory ends behind noble principles are offered by the exploitation of the idea of disarmament and pacifist propaganda in the broad sense of the word for one's own purposes.

From time immemorial the idea of disarmament has been one of the most favored forms of diplomatic dissimulation of the true motives and plans of those governments which have been seized by a sudden "love of peace." This phenomenon is very understandable. Any proposal for the reduction of armaments could invariably count upon broad popularity and support from public opinion.

Tarle, Y.V., *Istoriya Diplomatii* (*History of Diplomacy*), (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1945), vol. 3, pp. 708–709.

560. . . . The Soviet Union has shown by its deeds that it respects the freedom of all nations and values peaceful relations with all countries. . . .

In all the countries liberated from fascist tyranny the Red Army, in accordance with the statements of the Soviet government, is setting an example of respect for the honor and dignity of liberated peoples, for their state system, culture, national traditions, and the great monuments of their past. The Red Army in no case hinders the liberated peoples from living their lives on their lands as they see fit.

"USSR, Mighty Bulwark of Universal Peace and Progress," *Izvestiya*, July 11, 1945.

561. . . . In order to accomplish this greatest task fully [that of equalling and surpassing capitalist countries in economic development] we need a long period of peace and guarantees of the security of our country. The peaceful policy of the USSR was not just a passing phenomenon but proceeded from the vital interests and needs of the Soviet people.

Molotov, V., "Election Speech" (February 6, 1946), *Pravda*, February 7, 1946.

562. But exactly this policy of friendship among the peoples, policy of assuring world peace and security, which is being carried out consistently and actively by the Soviet Union, is arousing the ever-increasing ire on the part of the reactionary forces of various countries. This policy is directed against their tendency to solve international problems by imperialistic methods, to solve them in the interest of monopoly capital; it is directed against the plans, now being hatched by the reactionaries, of a new war. That is why the problem of consolidating the peace that had been won and of assuring the security of our native land is, at the present time, our most important problem.

Voennaya Mysl' (*Military Thought*), no. 5, May 1946, p. 11.

563. We want to see a peace founded on recognition and unconditional observance of right and justice, corresponding to the true interests of peoples, demanding respect

and acknowledgement of their sovereign rights. The founding of such a peace is a great and honorable task for the fulfillment of which we must live, work and fight.

Vyshinsky, A. Ya.,"Speech to UN Political and Territorial Commission for Italy" (September 5, 1946), *Pravda*, September 6, 1946.

564. The Soviet Union pursues unwaveringly a policy of peace and friendship among peoples. We do not want war and we shall do everything possible to avert it. . . .

The socialist state has no need for foreign expansion. It needs no colonial seizure. The Soviet socialist system has eradicated the causes which engendered economic crises, from which the rulers of the capitalist world usually seek a way out by the road of military adventures.

Malenkov, G., "Speech on 32nd Anniversary of Revolution" (November 6, 1949), *Pravda*, November 7, 1949.

565. Peace is what was given the people of Vietnam [in the Vietnam War].

Brezhnev, L., *LK*, vol. 4, p. 407.

566. "Eternal peace on earth," says the latest edition of the Soviet Military Encyclopedia (1976–1980), will be possible "only with the transition of all countries and peoples to communism, which is the historical process for eliminating war from the life of society."

SVE, vol. 2, 1976, pp. 308–309.

567. We understand the impossibility of eliminating wars without eliminating classes and creating socialism.

SVE, vol. 2, 1976, pp. 308–309.

568. [Pacifism] is as unscientific now as it was in the 1830s. . . . The overwhelming majority of participants in this movement do not perceive the true causes and class-political nature of war. . . . [Pacifism] distracts the masses from the true means of outlawing war. . . . [The attitude of Marxist–Leninists towards pacifism is] determined by its objective role in the struggle between the world's progressive and reactionary forces. . . . Lenin recognized the necessity of exploiting pacifism as a means of strengthening the positions of the Soviet republic and of repelling imperialist aggression.

SVE, vol. 6, pp. 252–253.

569. Peace is impossible without socialism, or as stated in the Soviet Military Encyclopedia: "A truly lasting peace is impossible and cannot be achieved without a proletarian revolution."

SVE, vol. 5, 1978, p. 316.

570. Questions of the struggle for peace are sometimes perceived in a simplistic way: Any peace is good, any war is bad. This may lead to carelessness, complacency and smugness, as well as to an underestimation of the threat of a possible war.

Kommunist, no. 10, July 1981, p. 90.

571. History and politics cannot always be fitted into legal formulas.

Bovin, A., *Moscow News*, no. 16, 1980.

572. In Brezhnev's *Collected Works*, the Soviet leader repeats this phrase over and over: "Socialism and peace are indivisible."

Konstantinov, F.V., *Pravda*, March 24, 1982, p. 24.

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THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA

The Beginning of Relations

1765-1815

U.S. Dept. of State

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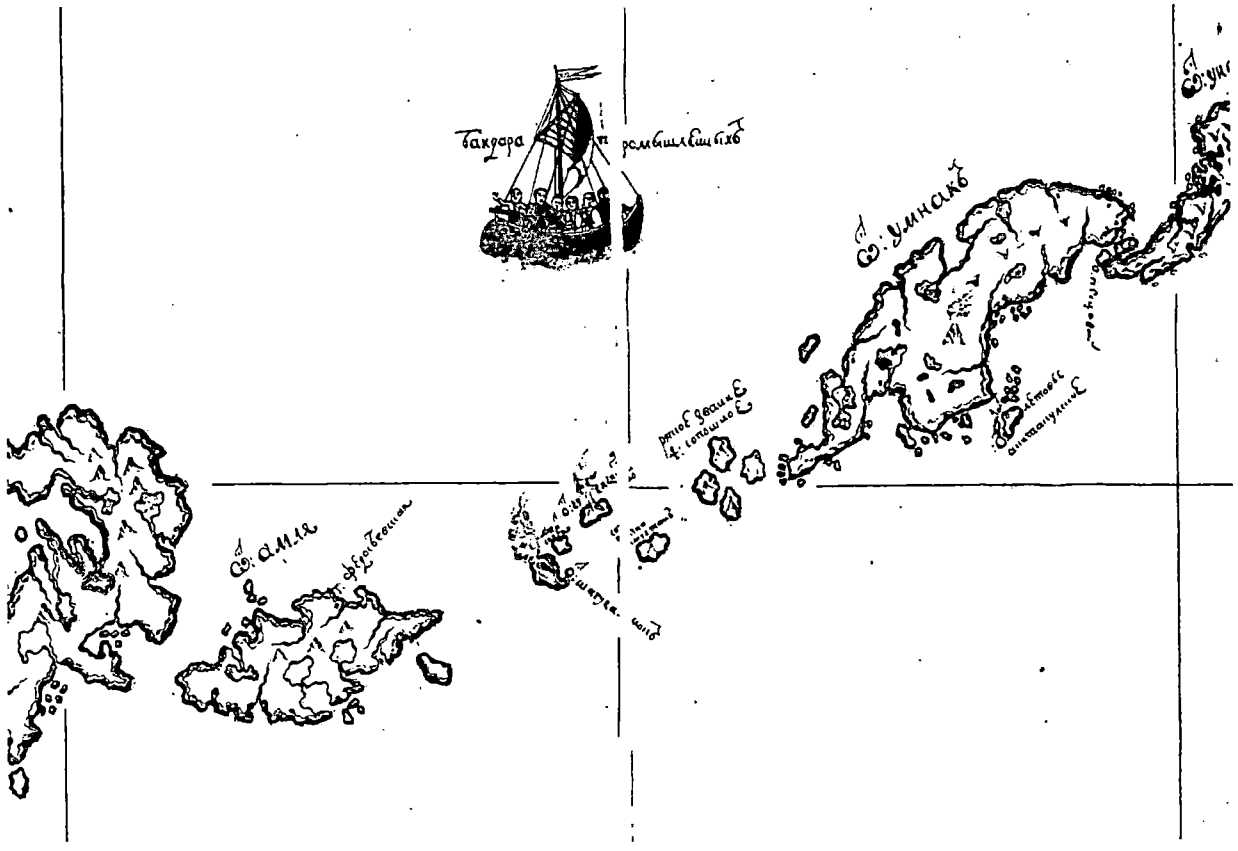


Edward Preble

Tripoly at a time when our squadron had been driven off the coast for a few days by a gale of wind. She went from Smyrna with a cargo consisting of powder, guns, shot, ship timber, etc., for and on account of the Bashaw of Tripoly, and sailed from thence the day on which we captured her with a cargo of cattle for account of the Tripoline Consul at Malta. This was certainly a most flagrant violation of the blockade, and of the law of nations in such cases, and obliged me to send all her papers home that the vessel might be condemned in our Court of Admiralty. But so deeply was I impressed by the generous interposition of His Imperial Majesty that I this day released the ship as a compliment to his flag, and shall be happy at all times to have it in my power to show how much it is my wish, as well as that of our government, to promote on every occasion the present friendship and good understanding between His Imperial Majesty and the United States.

I have the honor to be....

Signed: Edward Preble

P.S. The port of Tripoly in Barbary has been for a long time declared in a state of blockade by me, and still continues to be so.[2]

NARS, RG 84, St. Petersburg, Consular Correspondence Received, 1803–1816, LBC, English language. Published: *Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*, vol. IV: *Naval Operations from April to September 6, 1804*, Washington, 1942, p. 161.

[1]A vessel with two or three masts, usually in one piece, and square or, rarely, lateen sails, used in the Mediterranean.

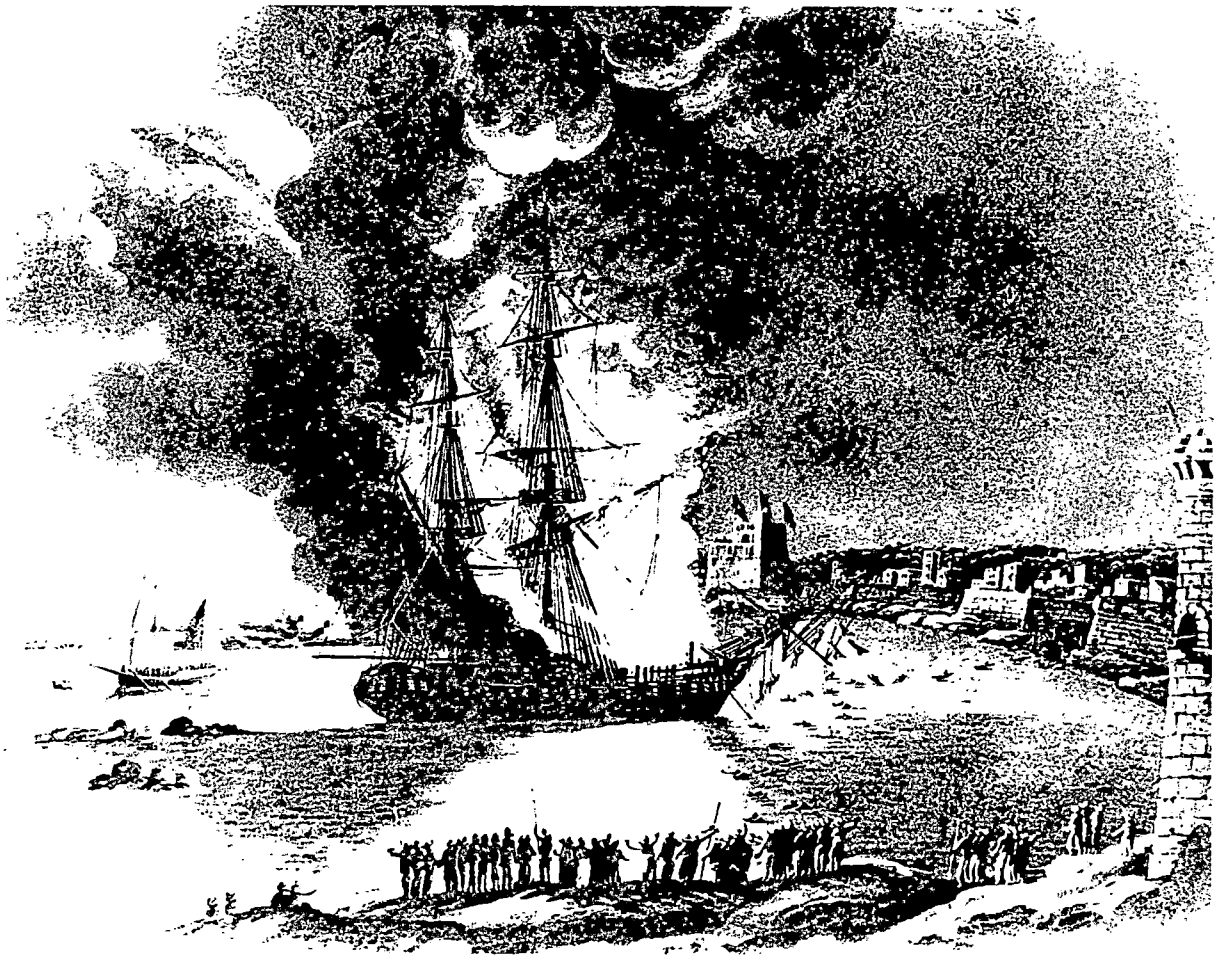
[2]See footnote 2 to Doc. 209.

209. Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Alexander I

Washington, June [3] 15, 1804

Great and Good Friend,

Your friendly interposition for the relief of the crew of an American frigate stranded on the coast of Tripoli has been recently made known to me. For this act of benevolence, and proof of your disposition to befriend our young republic, its Secretary of State conveys the official expression of its sensibility.[1] But I should ill satisfy my own feelings, did I not add my individual acknowledgements for a favor directly tending to facilitate the administration of the affairs of my country, with which I am personally charged.



Burning of the frigate *Philadelphia,* Tripoli, February 16, 1804

To the Barbarians whose habitual violations of the laws of nature have produced the occasion of this friendly office, we have sent expressions of very different feelings by the squadron which has just left our ports destined for theirs.[2] Should the commander find that, in consequence of Your Imperial Majesty's interposition, they shall already have done us voluntary justice, he will let them owe to your favor his abstinence from every act of force. Otherwise, he will endeavor, by the means he is furnished with, to convince them it will be their interest to injure us no more.

I see with great pleasure the rising commerce between our two countries.[3] We have not gone into the policy, which the European nations have so long tried, and to so little good effect, of multiplying commercial treaties. In national, as in individual, dealings more liberality will perhaps be found in voluntary regulations than in those which are measured out by the strict letter of a treaty which, whenever it becomes onerous, is made by forced construction to mean anything or nothing, engenders disputes, and brings on war.

But your flag will find in our harbours hospitality, freedom, and protection, and your subjects enjoy all the privileges of the most favored nation. The favorable reception of our Consul at St. Petersburg and the friendly sentiments conveyed through your Minister of Foreign Relations are an earnest that our merchants also will meet due favor in your ports.

I avail myself of this occasion of expressing the exalted pleasure I have felt in observing the various acts of your administration, during the short time you have yet been on the throne of your country, and seeing in them manifestations of the virtue and wisdom from which they flow. What has not your country to hope from a career which has begun with such auspicious developments! Sound principles, pursued with a steady step, dealing out good progressively as your people are prepared to receive and to hold it fast, cannot fail to carry them and yourself far in the improvement of their condition during the course of your life. I pray to God that it may long continue, for their happiness and your glory, and that he may always have you in his safe and holy keeping.

Th: Jefferson

AVPR, f. Kantseliariia, d. 3325, l. 6–6ob., ALS, English language; LCM, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1 (Microfilm Reel 30), draft, English language. Published: *RM*, pp. 87–88; *NNI*, p. 154; and *SEER*, p. 221.

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[1]The reference is to a letter from Madison to Vorontsov dated June 10, 1804. (AVPR, f. Kantseliariia, d. 3325, l. 4–5)

[2]Besides diplomatic measures, the U.S. Government undertook to blockade the shores of Tripoli with its fleet. In a letter written from Malta on June 7, 1804, Captain Edward Preble, Commodore of the U.S. Mediterranean squadron, informed Harris that he had burned the captured frigate *Philadelphia* in Tripoli harbor on February 16, and that he was continuing to enforce the U.S. blockage of the port. (NARS, RG 84, St. Petersburg, Consular Correspondence Received, 1803–1816) Captain William Bainbrige and the crew of the *Philadelphia* remained in a Tripolitan prison until after the signing of a treaty of peace between the United States and Tripoli on June 4, 1805.

[3]See the table on p. 1115.

210. From Georg Heinrich Freiherr von Langsdorff's Account of the Voyage of the "Nadezhda"

[Hawaii, June 7/19 – 10/22, 1804]

...[1] On the seventh of June, being in latitude 19° 34′ north, we came in sight of the eastern point of the island of Owhyhee [Hawaii], then at the distance of thirty-six sea miles. This island,

228. Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Alexander I[1]

Washington, April [7] 19, 1806

I owe an acknowledgement to Your Imperial Majesty of the great satisfaction I have received from your letter of August 20, 1805,[2] and sincere expressions of the respect and veneration I entertain for your character. It will be among the latest and most soothing comforts of my life to have seen advanced to the government of so extensive a portion of the earth, and at so early a period of his life, a sovereign whose ruling passion is the advancement of the happiness and prosperity of his people. And not of his own people only, but who can extend his eye and his good will to a distant and infant nation, unoffending in its course, unambitious in its views.

The events of Europe come to us so late, and so suspiciously, that observations on them would certainly be stale, and possibly wide of their actual state. From their general aspect however I collect that Your Majesty's interposition in them has been disinterested and generous, and having in view only the general good of the great European family. When you shall proceed to the pacification which is to reestablish peace and commerce, the same dispositions of mind will lead you to think of the general intercourse of nations, and to make that provision for its future maintenance which in times past it has so much needed. The northern nations of Europe, at the head of which Your Majesty is distinguished, are habitually peaceable. The United States of America, like them, are attached to peace. Every nation indeed on the continent of Europe, belligerent as well as neutral, is interested in maintaining these rights, in liberalizing them progressively with the progress of science and refinement, of morality, and in relieving them from restrictions which the extension of the arts has long since rendered unreasonable and vexatious.

Two personages in Europe, of which Your Majesty is one, have it in their power, at the approaching pacification, to render eminent service to nations in general by incorporating into the act of pacification a correct definition of the rights of neutrals on the high seas. Such a definition, declared by all the powers lately or still belligerent, would give to those rights a precision and notoriety, and cover them with an authority which would protect them in an important degree against further violation. And should any further sanction be necessary, that of an exclusion of the violating nation from commercial intercourse with all the others would be preferable to war, as more analogous to the offence, more easy and likely to be executed with good faith. The essential articles of these rights too are so few and simple as easily to be defined.

Having taken no part in the past or existing troubles of Europe, we have no part to act in its pacification. But as principles may

then be settled in which we have a deep interest, it is a great happiness for us that they are placed under the protection of an umpire who, looking beyond the narrow bounds of an individual nation, will take under the cover of his equity the rights of the absent and unrepresented. It is only by a happy concurrence of good characters and good occasions that a step can now and then be taken to advance the well-being of nations. If the present occasion be good, I am sure Your Majesty's character will not be wanting to avail the world of it. By monuments of such good offices may your life become an epoch in the history of the condition of man, and may he who called it into being for the good of the human family give it length of days and success, and have it always in his holy keeping.

Th: Jefferson

AVPR, f. Kantseliariia, d. 6034, l. 1–2, ALS, English language; LCM, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1 (Microfilm Reel 35), ALS, English language. Published: *RM*, pp. 89–90; *SEER*, pp. 222–223; and Jefferson, *Writings*, vol. XI, pp. 103–106.

[1]This letter was sent under cover to Monroe in London for transmittal to Harris, together with Jefferson's letter to Harris (Doc. 227). Also in the packet for Harris were Madison's instruction to Harris (Doc. 226) and a copy of Madison's instruction to Armstrong (Doc. 222). In his covering letter to Monroe dated April 22, 1806, Madison authorized him to read the instructions to Harris and Armstrong in order to gain familiarity with the efforts to obtain French and Russian support for the U.S. position on neutral rights at sea. (NARS, RG 59, Instructions to Ministers, vol. 6, Microfilm Reel 1)

[2]See footnote 1 to Doc. 215.

229. Despatch from Levett Harris to James Madison

St. Petersburg, April 17/29, 1806

Sir,

I had last the honor of writing to you under date of 1/13 November 1805.[1] I avail myself of the opening of the navigation of the Baltic to renew my communications.

The late extraordinary turn of affairs on the Continent which has taken place since the date of my last, of which you are fully apprised, it is apprehended, in addition to the great political events it has involved, will operate some changes on commerce not wholly uninteresting to us.[2]

How far the increase of influence acquired by France in Germany and the North will interfere with our trade hither is not at present foreseen, but I much dread that our usual channels of intercourse to this country will meet with obstructions, the more, as the prevailing policy of belligerents in their relations with neutrals is so little guided by principles of justice.

267. Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Alexander I

[Monticello,] August [17] 29, 1808

Great and Good Friend and Emperor,

Desirous of promoting useful intercourse and good understanding between Your Majesty's subjects and the citizens of the United States, I have appointed William Short, one of our distinguished citizens, to be, in quality of Minister Plenipotentiary of these United States, the bearer to you of assurances of their sincere friendship and of their desire to maintain with Your Majesty and your subjects the strictest relations of amity and commerce. He will explain to Your Majesty the peculiar position of these States, separated by a wide ocean from the powers of Europe, with interests and pursuits distinct from theirs, and consequently without the motives or aptitudes for taking part in the associations or oppositions which a different system of interests produces among them. He is charged to assure Your Majesty more particularly of our purpose to observe a faithful neutrality towards the contending powers in the war in which Your Majesty is a party, rendering to all the services and courtesies of friendship, and praying for the re-establishment of peace and right among them. And we entertain an entire confidence that this just and faithful conduct on the part of the United States will strengthen the friendly dispositions you have manifested towards them and be a fresh motive with so just and magnanimous a Sovereign for enforcing, by the high influence of your example, the respect due to the character and rights of a peaceable nation.

I beseech you, Great and Good Friend and Emperor, to give entire credence to whatever he shall say to you on the part of these States, and most of all when he shall assure you of their cordial esteem and respect for Your Majesty's person and character, praying God always to have you in His safe and holy keeping.

Th: Jefferson

AVPR, f. Administrativnye dela, I–6, 1808 g., d. 1, p. 2, l. 1, ALS, English language; LCM, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Series 1 (Microfilm Reel 42), draft, English language. Published: *SEER*, pp. 224–225.

Mk -- good stuff in hand! -MV

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Exchanges
I understand Guroff's USIA shop is talking to you directly

American Culture in the USSR

What American shows appear on Soviet TV? Which is the most popular?

Disney Presents, Adam Smith's Money World, Phil Donahue, Muppet show, Geraldo, MTV in general, CNN clips on TSN (see below)

Shown during America Week (week of July 1): Dallas, Little House on the Prairie, Love Boat, Beverly Hills, 90210, The Jetsons, The Flintstones, Barnaby Jones

Dallas was maybe the most watched

At current Moscow film festival: Oliver Stones's The Doors

On pirated videocassettes: Tango and Cash, Total Recall, Police Academy, Rambo

Favorite American actors, actresses, bands, etc

Michael Jackson, Madonna, Schwarzenegger, Silvester Stalone, Bruce Lee, Joon Rhee
Dustin Hoffman, Robert Redford, Jack Nicholson

Evidence of American consumer culture
Jeans, McDonalds, Pizza Hut, Mickey Mouse, MTV, Top 20, Rambo, skateboards, Velcro, T-shirts etc with messages, Keds, and now Rap Music
Soviet reaction to it:
Youth loves it; independent and even official media have largely embraced it; Russian ultranationalists, hardline communists calls it "spiritual AIDS"

Reader's Digest has just started coming out (surprisingly poor translation)

How many independent radio stations are there in Moscow (--in the Republic, in the USSR...?
My guesstimate is that the total number of independent (whatever the definition of "independent") stations in the USSR is less than 10. with 2-3 in Moscow.
Ekho Moskvy (Moscow Echo) is very popular in Moscow area
Best known (Russia-wide) is probably Radio Rossii, the Russian Republic's (independent?) station
Names of most popular independent news programs/newpapers--trusted reporters, journalists..
News programs: most popular before it was emasculated: TSN (Television News Service,a late night program). Most trusted: its fired anchors, Tatiana Mitkova, Yuri Rostov, Dmitri Kiselev. Also Vladimir Molchanov who has migrated from Vremia to Russian Republic's Channel 2.. Leningrad TV's investigative journalism program Fifth Wheel and its anchor Bella Kurkova
Russian Republic's Channel 2 news program Vesti is serious competition to Vremya
Independent newspapers: Nezavisimaya gazeta, Argumenty i fakty, Moscow news, Ogonek, Stolitsa. Megapolis-Express, Kommersant (in the business community)

Proverbs/folk legends, Sayings

Related to journeys and travels
Tishe edish dalshe budesh (literally, the slower you go, the farther you will get)
Utro vechera mudrennee (in the morning one is wiser than in the evening)

Visitors, guests
Dobro pozhalovat! (Welcome!)

Friends
Stary drug luchshe novykh dvukh (an old friend is better than two new ones)
Ne imey sto rubley, a imey sto druzey (one hundred friends is better than one hundred rubles)
druzya poznayutsya v bede (you find out who your friends are when you are in trouble)
druzhba druzhboy a tobachek vroz (separate checks, please)
kakov gost takovo emu i ugoshcheniye (the food matches the guest)
svoya rubashka blizhe k telu (me first!)

challenges, great tasks
Bez truda ne vynesh i rybku iz pruda (it takes work even to pull out a fish from the pond)
na Boga nadeysya a sam ne ploshay (trust in God but don't be idle)
terpenye i trud vsyo peretrut (patience and work will overcome anything)
iz spasibo shuby ne soshyesh (you can't make a fur coat out of a thank you)

the future
pozhivem uvidem (wait and see)
bud chto budet (let it be)

Men's assassination-- articles attached

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1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1991 Times Newspapers Limited
The Times

February 6, 1991, Wednesday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 502 words

HEADLINE: Third priest murdered in Moscow crime wave

BYLINE: From Mary Dejevsky in Moscow

BODY:

THE young dean of a central Moscow church, Father Serafim Shlykov, has been found battered to death in the flat where he was living temporarily. Police say he was bound and gagged and then struck several times on the head with a blunt object. They say the motive was probably robbery. A radio, video recorder, cassettes and money were missing.

An official report of Father Shlykov's murder, distributed by Tass, said the priest, who was 32, had fallen victim to the Moscow crime wave in which flat burglaries figure prominently.

Unofficial church sources cast doubt on this account, however. Father Shlykov is the third priest to meet a violent death in the Moscow area in the past five months. In the autumn, Father Aleksandr Men was found murdered in woods near Moscow after he had set out to conduct an early morning service. The investigation into the killing is still in progress, but police said that they believed robbery to be the motive.

Many of the priest's followers, however, suspect a political motive. Father Men, whose parish was close to the town of Zagorsk 50 miles from Moscow, had a large and devoted following among the Moscow intelligentsia who travelled miles to talk to him and receive his blessing.

Last month, a second priest, Father Lazar Solnyshko, was killed in his flat in central Moscow. He was another popular priest who devoted himself to charitable work in orphanages and hospitals. Again, police said that the motive was robbery, although some suspected a political aspect because he was a member of the church commission investigating Father Men's death.

A report published last week in Izvestia, the government newspaper, claimed that Father Solnyshko was a homosexual and alleged he was ''not too particular about the men he invited back to his flat''. On the night he was murdered, he was seen returning to his flat with two men, neither of whose identity has yet been established.

So far, police have said only that the motive for Father Shlykov's death was also robbery. They reported the missing goods and money and noted that he had recently spent a year at the Russian Orthodox monastery in Jerusalem, suggesting that he would have had access to foreign goods.

Priests may be especially vulnerable to violent robbery in Russia at present because they would be expected to have icons and other religious art, which

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(c) 1991 Times Newspapers Limited, February 6, 1991

commands large sums on the black market. Even so, Moscow's crime rate, while rising, still bears no comparison with that of big cities in the United States, and the suspicion of a political motive has not been convincingly excluded.

The latest murder will only fuel speculation. The combination of robbery, moral weakness (as in the case of Father Solnyshko) and politics is familiar terrain to the KGB. The enhanced status of the organisation in recent months, in connection with the campaign against crime and corruption, may have given some sections the boldness to revert to methods and objectives familiar from the pre-perestroika age.

TERMS:
Soviet Union

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4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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June 3, 1990, Sunday, AM cycle

LENGTH: 519 words

HEADLINE: CROWDS CHEER, CHASE GORBACHEV DURING MINNESOTA VISIT

BYLINE: By Michael Conlon

DATELINE: MINNEAPOLIS

KEYWORD:
SUMMIT -TOUR

BODY:

Thousands chased after Mikhail Gorbachev in this heartland American city Sunday and the Soviet leader returned the adulation, but he snubbed a farmer who had spruced up his dairy farm for a planned Gorbachev visit.

Gorbachev, who in America has been his own best public relations man, lunched with Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich but spent so much time on a tour of the area that it was impossible to visit farmer Richard Brand and his 80-cow barn.

"It's not true. It's not true," a surprised family member said when informed the cancellation was announced at the visit press center in Minneapolis.

A person who refused to give their name at the 650-acre farm said the family was disappointed but at least would have a chance to shake Gorbachev's hand at the airport before he leaves for San Francisco Sunday night.

Gorbymania nonetheless was in full swing for the Soviet president's seven-hour stopover in Minnesota after a four-day summit with President George Bush in Washington. He was to spend Sunday night and most of Monday in San Francisco and return to Moscow Monday night.

Gorbachev and his wife left their car several times to wade into crowds lining the streets of St Paul. There were screams and squeals.

As his motorcade looped around the state capitol building in St Paul, hundreds chased along on foot trying to get a better glimpse of Gorbachev, who is finding a much better reception in the United States than he gets at home due to the Soviet Union's economic woes.

"Thank you. All the best," Gorbachev shouted back to the crowd in Russian during a leisurely victory-style tour of Minneapolis and St.Paul.

After a fish and veal lunch with 50 state officials and other dignitaries at the governor's residence, Gorbachev was mobbed again as he left.

Among the luncheon guests was British publisher Robert Maxwell, who along with Perpich announced formation of a 100-million-dollar Gorbachev -Maxwell Institute of Technology.

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(c) 1990 Reuters, June 3, 1990

There were also some demonstrators waving the flags of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania- the independence-minded Baltic republics- but even they were friendly.

Some wound up shaking his hand when he passed them.

As the motorcade passed one home in St Paul people standing in the yard appeared to hoist glasses of champagne in a toast to Gorbachev.

In another yard, a flag pole flew both the Soviet and American flags and nearby people held signs reading "We love Gorbachev. "

During the Washington summit Gorbachev signed a new five-year grain agreement with Bush, a move that heartened not only Minnesota farmers but U.S. industrialists anxious for expanded trade with Moscow.

Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader to visit the American interior since Nikita Khrushchev toured Roswell Garst's farm in Iowa in 1959.

He called Minnesota "a beautiful state" at one point.

Shop windows in Minneapolis and St Paul were filled with T-shirts celebrating the Gorbachev tour, and local radio and television stations gave advice on what to say when the Kremlin leader suddenly stopped his limousine:

"Be polite- address him as President Gorbachev, not Comrade Gorbachev. "

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5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Proprietary to the United Press International 1990

June 3, 1990, Sunday, BC cycle

SECTION: Washington News

LENGTH: 837 words

HEADLINE: Bush and Gorbachev strike up warm personal ties

BYLINE: BY HELEN THOMAS UPI White House Reporter

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: PRESIDENTS

BODY:

President Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev like doing business with each other.

Through all of the sensitive topics that punctuated the four-day superpower summit, the two leaders found that even though great issues still divide them, they can discuss their differences without rancor, often learning from each other rather than lecturing one another.

It was that tone and spirit the two men stressed repeatedly at the summit's end Sunday.

''We spent many hours together and were able to come to know each other very well,'' Gorbachev said. ''I don't know whether anyone will be ever able to say that we know each other totally well or completely. I think that would take many, many years. But we now have a good human relationship and, I think, a good human atmosphere between us.''

''I think it's a mark of how far the U.S.-Soviet relationship has come that in all our exchanges, whether about issues on which we agreed or disagreed, the spirit of candor and openness, a desire not just to understand but to build bridges, has shown through,'' Bush added.

Gorbachev said he determined as far back at 1987 that Bush, who was then vice president, was ''the kind of person to do business with.''

And he stressed several times that the all-day session Saturday in the rustic setting of the Camp David, Md., presidential retreat contributed greatly to the two men's understanding of each other.

The two leaders never got around to sealing their closer bonds by calling each other ''George'' and ''Mikhail.'' Aides said it was always ''Mr. President'' when they conversed.

But White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater said there was good interaction between them, especially when Gorbachev stripped off his tie at Camp David, lightened up and drove a golf cart around the heavily guarded mountaintop retreat.

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Fitzwater said in their chats on the patio at Aspen Lodge, the two leaders appeared ''very much alike. They seemed almost a mirror of each other, with the same sense of humor. They teach each other, even as to the irony of events as opposed to telling stories.''

That sort of relaxed, personal diplomacy is a strong suit for Bush, who went to considerable lengths to position himself and Gorbachev in an informal setting.

It seemed to have an effect on the Soviet leader.

Gorbachev was even going home with a trophy. After he hit a ringer in his first toss at the Camp David horseshoe pit, the horseshoe was quickly mounted on a wooden plaque and presented to him at the dinner winding up their informal day.

Raising his glass in an emotional toast, Gorbachev told the guests that the Soviets also believe the horseshoe is a symbol of good luck. ''I hope it means good luck on your house and on my house. We need good fortune,'' he said.

Many people believe luck is only one of the things needed by the Soviet leader, who is facing severe economic troubles and perhaps new political challenges at home.

But Bush has made it clear that despite the difficulties facing Gorbachev, the president is a true believer in perestroika and feels it is in the best interests of the United States for Gorbachev to succeed.

A decision to meet regularly, perhaps on an annual basis, emerged from the summit with Bush saying ''both of us would like to think that we can get together more often with less formality.''

Although Gorbachev was clearly on the defensive, particularly about media reports that he was weakened by blows at home, Bush went out of his way not to show he was in the driver's seat and dealing his cards from strength.

And Gorbachev, touted as subdued on his arrival Wednesday night, shed that image in short order once in Washington.

He made his case several times to gatherings of American celebritries and experts and -- repeating a tactic he began during a 1987 summit with Ronald Reagan -- jumped out of his Zil limousine three times to mingle with Washingtonians on downtown street corners.

Fitzwater insisted Bush did not feel upstaged by the maneuvers and wanted Gorbachev to see the real America.

In many ways, the Bush-Gorbachev relationship differs from the one the Soviet leader forged with Reagan.

Although friendly, that relationship was more formal and Gorbachev used to grimace when Reagan reminded him over and over again of the Soviet saying: ''Doveryai, no proveryai,'' meaning ''trust but verify.''

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It appeared to be different as well for the two leaders' wives.

Barbara Bush and Raisa Gorbachev deferred to one another and showed none of the competitiveness that was so apparent in clashes between the Soviet first lady and former first lady Nancy Reagan.

The two women were spotted several times holding hands and their conversations ran to discussions of families and how people live in the Soviet Union.

All in all, the Bushes and the Gorbachevs expect to be seeing a lot of each other in months to come. When they do, it may well be like old friends meeting again.

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The Associated Press

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June 1, 1990, Friday, PM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 668 words

HEADLINE: Where's The Beef? Still on Raisa's Plate

BYLINE: By RITA BEAMISH, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Summit -State Dinner

BODY:

The Soviets weren't dressed in black tie, Raisa Gorbachev didn't eat her meat, and her husband still didn't seem to be on a first-name basis with President Bush.

But none of that dampened the conviviality at Thursday night's White House dinner in honor of Soviet President Mikhail S. Gorbachev and his wife. It was the social event of the year.

"I think we were all happy," declared Academy Award-winning actress Jessica Tandy, who was seated at a table with President Bush and Mrs. Gorbachev.

Another guest, evangelist Billy Graham, pronounced the evening "terrific," and "one of the great evenings of my life." He said people were in an optimistic mood about the progress of the summit.

American mezzo-soprano Frederica von Stade entertained the 130 guests in the East Room after dinner with several opera numbers and such American classics as "Summertime" and songs from the musical "Showboat."

Gorbachev leaped up to shake her hand after the performance and his wife kissed the singer on both cheeks.

"Barbara and I knew that President and Mrs. Gorbachev loved music," Bush said following the performance. "We could think of no finer art than opera to transcend the differences and bring out the things we have in common."

One thing Mrs. Gorbachev didn't have in common with many of the guests was an appreciation for the roasted filet of beef mascotte with green peppercorn sauce that was served at dinner. She left hers on the plate, but did eat the Maine lobster, observers said.

No one seemed to know if the Soviet first lady normally doesn't eat red meat or simply wasn't that hungry.

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As is customary for Soviet dignitaries, the Gorbachevs showed up dressed more informally than the tuxedo-clad and bejeweled Americans at the black-tie dinner.

He wore a dark business suit and she wore a tea-length, three-piece dress with a black, green and pink floral design. Traditional Soviet thinking holds that formal attire is elitist.

Bush and the other American men wore tuxedos. Mrs. Bush was attired in a new sapphire blue gown by her favorite designer, Arnold Scaasi.

After the entertainment, the Gorbachevs did not stay for the dancing in the White House grand foyer. Instead they were escorted by the Bushes to their waiting limousine and drove back to the Soviet Embassy for the night.

Bush then twirled the first lady around the floor to "Shall We Dance" before Secretary of State James A. Baker III cornered him for an extended and animated discussion in the middle of the dance floor.

In their formal toasts during dinner, Bush and Gorbachev addressed one another as "Mr. President" rather than by first names, a style which Bush prefers with other heads of state.

"Mr. President," Bush told his counterpart, "it is said that your country is the land of possibilities. You have demonstrated the truth of that statement, and we've seen this past year that ours is a world of possibilities, that ours is a time of historic change, a time when men and nations can transform history."

The Soviet president said his country no longer sees the United States as an enemy. He also paid tribute to national difference.

"Ideological stereotypes are fading away," he said. "We have come to understand each other's motives. As we are changing and coming closer to each other, we have not ceased to be different. But it turns out that that is not so bad. Quite the opposite, it is useful, for diversity is a vital force of development."

He made a favorable impression, guests said.

"Everybody wanted to see what he would say and how he would say it," said Treasury Secretary Nick Brady. "His speech was well received and so was the president's."

Bush's daughter-in-law, Sharon Bush of Denver, gave Mrs. Gorbachev a good review as well, calling her "very warm and nice."

Among other guests, in addition to administration officials and members of Congress, were actress Tandy's husband, Hume Cronyn, and Morgan Freeman, her co-star in the Academy Award best picture "Driving Miss Daisy."

GRAPHIC: Laserphoto WX6

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Toasts at a Dinner Hosted by President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union

June 1, 1990

President Gorbachev. Mr. President, Mrs. Bush, ladies and gentlemen, comrades, we have completed the second full day of talks, but I would like to sum things up. This meeting is only a stage, though a major one, in the gigantic and forward-looking project of *perestroika* and Soviet-American relations.

We are going to have at least two more meetings with President Bush this year alone: one at the Conference on Security on Cooperation in Europe, where I hope a treaty reducing conventional arms in Europe will be signed, and the other to sign a treaty reducing strategic offensive arms.

I believe that the agenda for 1990 that we approved at Malta can be implemented. We may reach greater heights in building a new Soviet-American relationship only by setting our sights higher and higher while abandoning all that was nurtured by the ideology and geopolitics of the Cold War.

In assessing the outcome of our talks, I believe I can say that they have demonstrated a growing mutual understanding between the U.S.S.R. and the United States, which means progress in sustaining the profound and positive changes underway in the world. In this regard, our in-depth discussion of the problems and prospects of the European process was no doubt a useful one. It has served to clarify views and positions, and brought in new arguments for consideration and exploration of acceptable solutions.

It is quite natural that we focused on the external aspects of German unification. As we see it, two processes should be completed: that of the final postwar settlement, and that related to the internal issues of interforming the two parts of Germany into a single state. We believe that those two processes form the substance of the period of transition which when completed will result in the cancellation of the rights of the four victorious powers; the rights which, incidentally, stem from the outcome of the war and not from the division of Germany. The transition will end in the emergence of a new sovereign state.

At the same time we believe that the discussion is not over, that it continues. And there may be more than one approach. We have to consider all of them together, including also our allies. What is acceptable in the final analysis is only a jointly developed approach which would not prejudice anybody's interest or erode the overall process of positive changes in Europe and in the world. Those changes are the principle achievement of recent years and the main product of growing trust between us and of the growing awareness that our civilization is one.

A very important result of this summit is the agreements we have signed today and the official statements we have made. They demonstrate that our joint policy of moving from constructive understanding to constructive interaction is bearing fruit. There is no doubt that this has been made possible—and I would say that what happened today is a confirmation of what I'm going to say—this has been made possible only in the environment produced by our meeting with President George Bush at Malta.

The Soviet Union and the United States had to conduct a major and, I would say, courageous reassessment of how they viewed each other and the world. They had to realize that our mutual isolation was an anomaly and that human civilization is indivisible. Therefore, it is quite logical that the agreements we have signed reflect our common readiness to obtain greater interdependence from people-to-people communication and cooperation in vitally important areas and through reinforcing the legal framework of Soviet-American relations. The package of our new agreements also reflects the special role the Soviet Union and the United States play in building bridges of understanding and trust between the East and the West.

In particular, I would like to call your attention to the agreement on trade. This agreement takes on special relevance since it has been concluded at a time of a dramatic change of direction in the Soviet economy which is crucial for the future of *perestroika*. I am convinced that the Soviet people will appreciate the fact that the United States, the President of the United States, is signing this agreement to normalize Soviet-American commercial relations at this moment of special importance for our country.

Now that we have recorded the progress we have made and laid down guidelines for the future, I would like to express the hope that the ship of Soviet-American relations will continue to sail on this course. It is clear that there are still some disagreements between us as to the optimal structure of our relationship. But this area of disagreement is being narrowed while the area of trust, agreement, and cooperation is expanding. An indication of the sincerity and seriousness of our countries' intentions is that we have started a difficult process of revising what appeared to be eternal concepts of the role of military power in safeguarding national security. In taking a radically different approach to security, we should not forget people who were ahead of their time. Andrei Sakharov is one of them.

One of the fathers of nuclear super weapons, Sakharov had the courage of his convictions to uphold to the end that force could no longer play a role in relations among states. Sakharov taught us another lesson, too: One should not fear dogma, nor be afraid of appearing naive. Political decisions that truly meet peoples' best interests should be based on the realities of life, not on contrived schemes.

Today our society is going through a complex, and sometimes dramatic, but promising process of *perestroika* on a democratic and humane basis with full respect for human rights and freedoms. *Perestroika* is also a contribution to building a new world, for we are searching for answers to the questions that confront in one way or another with greater or lesser intensity all nations and, indeed, all mankind.

We believe that once we are clear of the thorns on this path we have chosen, we shall not only reach new frontiers in our country's history but also help to build a new civilization of peace. We are ready to do that, together with the United States of America.

I would like to propose a toast to a future of peace for the Soviet and the American people, and for all nations on Earth. To idealism and the idealists. To the health of the President of the United States of America, Mr. George Bush, and Barbara Bush. To

the health and well-being of all present here. To the happiness of our children and grandchildren.

President Bush. Mr. President and Mrs. Gorbachev, Barbara and I would like to thank you for this splendid dinner and for your wonderful hospitality and for your most interesting and gracious remarks. Yesterday we welcomed the Gorbachevs back to Washington still filled with memories of the things we shared in Malta: friendship, cooperation, seasick pills. [*Laughter*]

For us here in this country, Mr. President, this week began with our observance of our Memorial Day, a day for not only remembrance of those who gave their last full measure of devotion but also for recommitment to the ideal that they shall not have died in vain.

And the week has now ended with a new memorial, a living memorial marked by historic agreements on both nuclear and chemical arms. And they've been shaped by a remembrance of shared interests and a recommitment to forging a just and lasting peace. And they stand as a memorial not to the past but to the future, a memorial to wars that need never be fought, to the hardship and suffering that need never be endured.

This afternoon we signed a landmark agreement to destroy the great majority of our chemical weapons. And we issued a joint statement recording major agreed provisions of a strategic arms reduction treaty. And the President and I also signed a commercial agreement, and we're looking forward to the passage of a Soviet emigration law. And we also agreed on this long-term grain agreement.

But true peace takes more than just laying down of arms. It also requires the reaching out of hands. And you know, Americans and Soviets have often tended to think of our two countries as being on opposite sides of almost everything, including the opposite sides of the world. But we share an important northern border, and we are, in fact, next door neighbors across the Bering Sea.

Today, we've also signed an agreement fixing our maritime boundary in the Bering Sea area and announced our agreement to establish a U.S.-Soviet park across the Bering Strait, a new gateway to the Arctic and a new gateway to the future.

Mr. President, I learned that the name of your home town out in the northern Caucasus, Privolnoye, can mean spacious or free.

President Gorbachev. Thank you for mentioning it.

President Bush. I know my pronunciation was bad, but I'm sure I'm right when I say it means spacious or free. [*Laughter*]

President Gorbachev. Great pronunciation—can mean both. Well, anyway, it reminded me of the new breeze, the new spirit of freedom that we've seen sweep across Europe and around the globe. I sensed it last summer, speaking in front of the shipyard gates to the people of Gdansk. And I told them because Americans are so free to dream, we feel a special kinship with those who dream of being free. Today that kinship is quickly becoming a shared spirit, a spirit that inspires millions here in our nation, in your own, and around the world.

So, ladies and gentlemen, I invite all of you to join me in a toast to our gracious hosts, the President and Mrs. Gorbachev. To lasting peace, and to this wonderful spirit of freedom.

Note: *President Gorbachev spoke at 7:55 p.m. in the Golden Dining Room at the Soviet Embassy. He spoke in Russian, and his remarks were translated by an interpreter.*

Exchange With Reporters Following Meetings at Camp David, Maryland, With President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union

June 2, 1990

Meetings With President Gorbachev

Q. President Bush, how was the meeting?

President Bush. Just a minute, wait until I get out of this thing. [*Laughter*]

President Gorbachev. In today's discussions with the President I rate them no less than the conversations we had yesterday and the day before yesterday, over the past 2 days. We worked very constructively and

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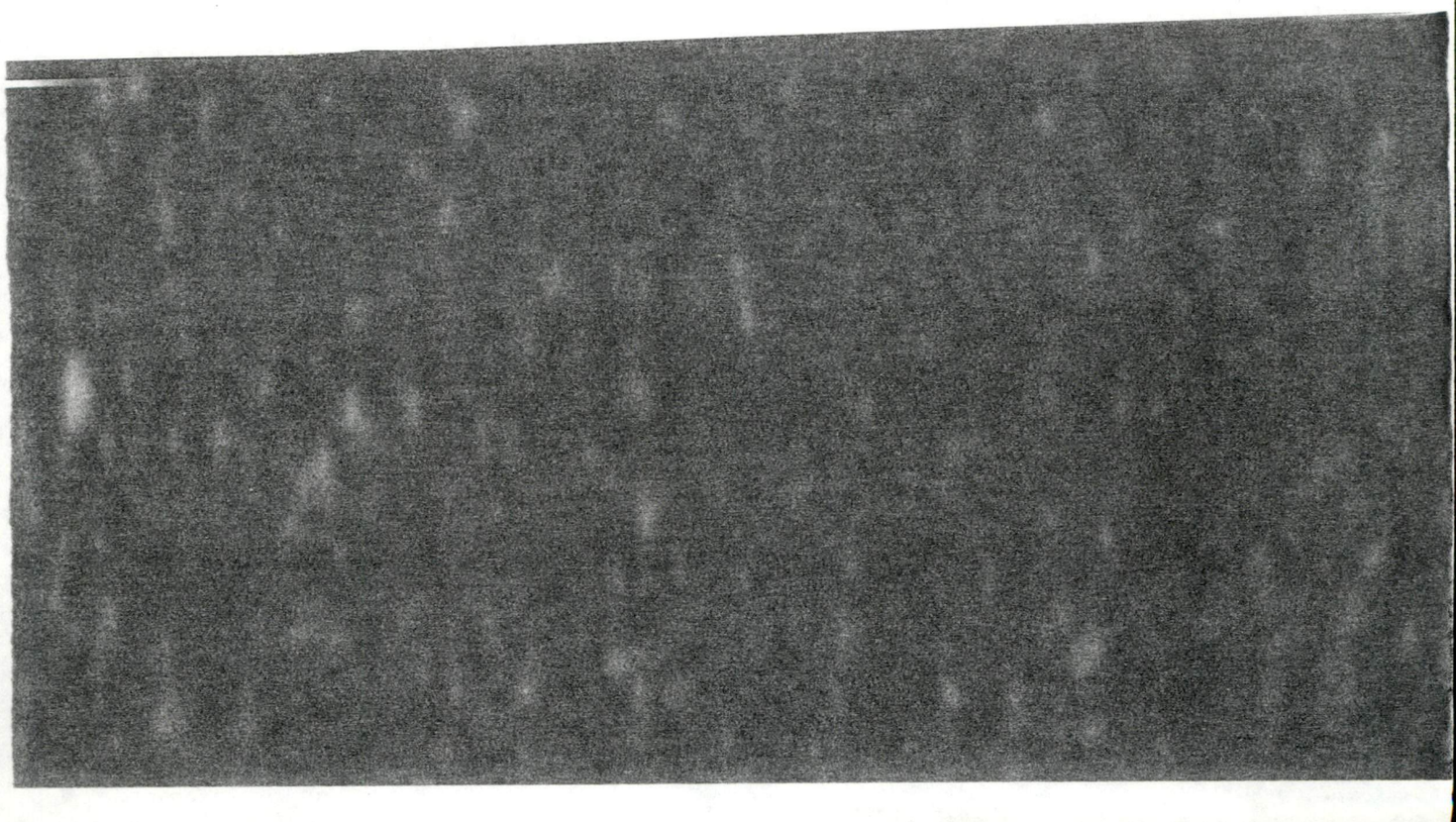

Th' assay so hard, so sharp the conquerynge.
The Parliament of Fowls, l.1. See 251:8

1 Thou shalt make castels thanne in Spayne,
And dreme of joye, all but in vayne.
The Romaunt of the Rose, l.2573

2 For it is seyd, 'man maketh ofte a yerde
With which the maker is hymself ybeten.'
Troilus and Criseyde, i, l.740

3 But love a womman that she woot it nought,
And she wol quyte it that thow shalt nat fele;
Unknowe, unkist, and lost, that is unsought.
l.807

4 O wynd, o wynd, the weder gynneth clere.
ii, l.2

5 So longe mote ye lyve, and alle proude,
Til crowes feet be growen under youre yë.
l.402

6 And we shall speek of the somwhat, I trow,
Whan thow art gon, to don thyn eris glow!
l.1021

7 It is nought good a slepyng hound to wake.
iii, l.764

8 For I have seyn, of a ful misty morwe
Folowen ful ofte a myrie someris day.
l.1060

9 Right as an aspes leef she gan to quake.
l.1200

10 And as the newe abaysed nyghtyngale,
That stynteth first whan she bygynneth to synge.
l.1233

11 For of fortunes sharpe adversitee
The worst kynde of infortune is this,
A man to han ben in prosperitee,
And it remembren, whan it passed is.
l.1625. See 89:6, 171:8

12 Oon ere it herde, at tothir out it wente.
iv, l.434

13 But manly sette the world on six and sevene;
And if thow deye a martyr, go to hevene!
l.622

14 For tyme ylost may nought recovered be.
l.1283

15 Ye, fare wel al the snow of ferne yere!
v, l.1176

16 Ek gret effect men write in place lite;
Th' entente is al, and nat the letrres space.
l.1629

17 Go, litel bok, go, litel myn tragedye,
Ther God thi makere yet, er that he dye,
So sende myght to make in som comedye!
But litel bok, no makyng thow n'envie,
But subgit be to alle poesye;
And kis the steppes, where as thow seest pace
Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace.

And for ther is so gret diversite
In Englissh and in writyng of oure tonge,
So prey I God that non myswrite the,
Ne the mysmetre for defaute of tonge.
And red wherso thow be, or elles songe,
That thow be understonde, God I biseche!
l.1786

18 And whan that he was slayn in this manere,
His lighte goost ful blisfully is went
Up to the holughnesse of the eighthe spere,
In convers letyng everich element;
And ther he saugh, with ful avysement,
The erratik sterres, herkenyng armonye
With sownes ful of hevenyssh melodie.

And down from thennes faste he gan avyse
This litel spot of erthe, that with the se
Embraced is, and fully gan despise
This wrecched world, and held al vanite
To respect of the pleyn felicite
That is in hevene above.
l.1807

19 O yonge, fresshe folkes, he or she,
In which that love up groweth with youre age,
Repeyreth hom fro worldly vanyte,
And of youre herte up casteth the visage
To thilke God that after his ymage
Yow made, and thynketh al nys but a faire
This world, that passeth soone as floures faire.

And loveth hym, the which that right for love
Upon a crois, our soules for to beye,
First start, and roos, and sit in hevene above;
For he nyl falsen no wight, dar I seye,
That wol his herte al holly on hym leye.
And syn he best to love is, and most meke,
What nedeth feynede loves for to seke?

Lo here, of payens corsed olde rites,
Lo here, what alle hire goddes may availle;
Lo here, thise wrecched worldes appetites;
Lo here, the fyn and guerdoun for travaille
Of Jove, Appollo, of Mars, of swich rascaille!
l.1835

20 O moral Gower, this book I directe
To the.
l.1856

21 Flee fro the prees, and dwelle with sothfastnesse.
Truth: Balade de Bon Conseyle, l.1

22 Forth, pilgrim, forth! Forth, beste, out of they stal!
Know thy contree, look up, thank God of al;
Hold the heye wey, and lat thy gost thee lede;
And trowth thee shal delivere, it is no drede.
l.18

ANTON CHEKHOV 1860–1904

23 When a lot of remedies are suggested for a disease, that means it can't be cured.
The Cherry Orchard (1903-4), II.i

24 Great God in Heaven, the Cherry Orchard is now mine...I've bought the estate where my father and grandfather were slaves, where they weren't even allowed inside the kitchen. I must be dreaming, I must be imagining it all.
III

25 *Medvedenko:* Why do you wear black all the time?
Masha: I'm in mourning for my life, I'm unhappy.
The Seagull (1896), I

26 *Nina:* Your play's hard to act, there are no living people in it.
Treplev: Living people! We should show life neither as it is nor as it ought to be, but as we see it in our dreams.

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f the eighthe spere,
h element;
ful avysement,
enyng armonye
nyssh melodie.

faste he gan avyse
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an despise
d held al vanite
elicite

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weth with youre age,
ly vanyte,
steth the visage
is ymage
al nys but a faire
oone as floures faire.

h that right for love
or to beye,
it in hevene above;
t, dar I seye,
on hym leye.
and most meke,
s for to seke?

olde rites,
ldes may availle;
orldes appetites;
oun for travaille
, of swich rascaille!

I directe

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1.1

, beste, out of they stal!
thank God of al;
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e, it is no drede.

-1904

uggested for a disease,

i

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nust be dreaming, I must

ar black all the time?
ıy life, I'm unhappy.

there are no living

ould show life neither
ıt as we see it in our

1 Women can't forgive failure.
II

2 *Nina:* I'm a seagull. No, that's wrong. Remember you shot a seagull? A man happened to come along, saw it and killed it, just to pass the time. A plot for a short story.
IV

3 People don't notice whether it's winter or summer when they're happy. If I lived in Moscow I don't think I'd care what the weather was like.
Three Sisters (1900-1), II

4 Man has been endowed with reason, with the power to create, so that he can add to what he's been given. But up to now he hasn't been a creator, only a destroyer. Forests keep disappearing, rivers dry up, wild life's become extinct, the climate's ruined and the land grows poorer and uglier every day.
Uncle Vanya, I

5 A woman can become a man's friend only in the following stages—first an acquaintance, next a mistress, and only then a friend.
II

6 *Sonya:* I'm not beautiful.
Helen: You have lovely hair.
Sonya: No, when a woman isn't beautiful, people always say, 'You have lovely eyes, you have lovely hair.'
III

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD 1694–1773

7 Unlike my subject will I frame my song,
It shall be witty and it sha'n't be long.
Epigram on 'Long' Sir Thomas Robinson. D.N.B.

8 The picture plac'd the busts between,
Adds to the thought much strength;
Wisdom and Wit are little seen,
But Folly's at full length.
Wit and Wisdom of Lord Chesterfield. **Epigrams. On the Picture of Richard Nash...between the Busts of...Newton and...Pope...at Bath.** (Attr. also to Mrs. Jane Brereton)

9 In scandal, as in robbery, the receiver is always thought as bad as the thief.
Advice to his Son. **Rules for Conversation, Scandal**

10 In my mind, there is nothing so illiberal and so ill-bred, as audible laughter.
Graces, Laughter. See 137:1, 159:22

11 In my opinion, parsons are very like other men, and neither the better nor the worse for wearing a black gown.
Letter to his son, 5 Apr. 1746

12 The knowledge of the world is only to be acquired in the world, and not in a closet.
4 Oct. 1746

13 An injury is much sooner forgotten than an insult.
9 Oct. 1746

14 Courts and camps are the only places to learn the world in.
2 Oct. 1747

15 There is a Spanish proverb, which says very justly, Tell me whom you live with, and I will tell you who you are.
9 Oct. 1747

16 Take the tone of the company that you are in.

17 Do as you would be done by is the surest method that I know of pleasing.
16 Oct. 1747

18 I recommend you to take care of the minutes: for hours will take care of themselves.
6 Nov. 1747

19 Advice is seldom welcome; and those who want it the most always like it the least.
29 Jan. 1748

20 Speak of the moderns without contempt, and of the ancients without idolatry.
22 Feb. 1748

21 Wear your learning, like your watch in a private pocket: and do not merely pull it out and strike it; merely to show that you have one.

22 If you happen to have an Elzevir classic in your pocket, neither show it nor mention it.

23 I am neither of a melancholy nor a cynical disposition, and am as willing and as apt to be pleased as anybody; but I am sure that, since I have had the full use of my reason, nobody has ever heard me laugh.
9 Mar. 1748

24 If Shakespeare's genius had been cultivated, those beauties, which we so justly admire in him, would have been undisgraced by those extravagancies, and that nonsense, with which they are so frequently accompanied.
1 Apr. 1748

25 Women, then, are only children of a larger growth: they have an entertaining tattle, and sometimes wit; but for solid, reasoning good-sense, I never knew in my life one that had it, or who reasoned or acted consequentially for four and twenty hours together.
5 Sept. 1748. See 195:15

26 A man of sense only trifles with them [women], plays with them, humours and flatters them, as he does with a sprightly and forward child; but he neither consults them about, nor trusts them with, serious matters.

27 It must be owned, that the Graces do not seem to be natives of Great Britain; and I doubt, the best of us here have more of rough than polished diamond.
18 Nov. 1748

28 Idleness is only the refuge of weak minds.
20 July 1749

29 Women are much more like each other than men: they have, in truth, but two passions, vanity and love; these are their universal characteristics.
19 Dec. 1749

30 Putting moral virtues at the highest, and religion at the lowest, religion must still be allowed to be a collateral security, at least, to virtue; and every prudent man will sooner trust to two securities than to one.
8 Jan. 1750

31 Knowledge may give weight, but accomplishments give lustre, and many more people see than weigh.
8 May 1750

32 Is it possible to love such a man? No. The utmost I can do for him is to consider him as a respectable Hottentot. [Lord Lyttelton.]
28 Feb. 1751

33 It is commonly said, and more particularly by Lord

about to start on a n
in life"
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BURTON STEVENSON
Editor *The Home Book of Verse*

I can tell thee where that saying was born
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*
Act i, sc. 5, l. 9

TENTH EDITION

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK

So vices brag, but virtue bears the bell.
GEORGE GASCOIGNE, *Glasse of Government.* Act iii, sc. 6. (1575)

1
He was a rationalist, but he had to confess that he liked the ringing of church bells.
ANTON CHEKHOV, *Notebook.*

The cheerful Sabbath bells, wherever heard,
Str.ke pleasant on the sense, most like the voice
Of one, who from the far-off hills proclaims
Tidings of good to Zion.
CHARLES LAMB, *The Sabbath Bells.*

And the Sabbath bell,
That over wood and wild and mountain dell
Wanders so far, chasing all thoughts unholy
With sounds most musical, most melancholy.
SAMUEL ROGERS, *Human Life,* l. 517.

2
Each matin bell, the Baron saith,
Knells us back to a world of death.
S. T. COLERIDGE, *Christabel.* Pt. ii, st. 1.

The bell invites me.
Hear it not, Duncan; for it is a knell
That summons thee to heaven or to hell.
SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth.* Act ii, sc. 1, l. 62.

Hark, how chimes the passing bell!
There's no music to a knell.
JAMES SHIRLEY, *The Passing Bell.*

They went and told the sexton, and
The sexton toll'd the bell.
THOMAS HOOD, *Faithless Sally Brown.*

3
How soft the music of those village bells,
Falling at intervals upon the ear
In cadence sweet, now dying all away,
Now pealing loud again, and louder still,
Clear and sonorous, as the gale comes on!
With easy force it opens all the cells
Where Mem'ry slept.
COWPER, *The Task.* Bk. vi, l. 6.

Dear bells! how sweet the sounds of village bells
When on the undulating air they swim!
Now loud as welcomes! faint, now, as farewells!
And trembling all about the breezy dells
As flutter'd by the wings of Cherubim.
THOMAS HOOD, *Ode to Rae Wilson,* l. 159.

4
But the sound of the church-going bell
These valleys and rocks never heard;
Ne'er sigh'd at the sound of a knell,
Or smil'd when a Sabbath appear'd.
COWPER, *Alexander Selkirk.*

Bell! thou soundest merrily,
When the bridal party
To the church doth hie!
Bell! thou soundest solemnly,
When, on Sabbath morning,
Fields deserted lie!
LONGFELLOW, *Hyperion.* Bk. iii, ch. 3. Quoted as by a Swiss poet.

5
The vesper bell from far,
That seems to mourn for the expiring day.
DANTE, *Purgatorio.* Canto viii, l. 6. (Cary, tr.)

The curfew tolls the knell of parting day.
THOMAS GRAY, *Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard.* Probably Upton Church, near Slough, not Stoke Pogis.

Your voices break and falter in the darkness,—
Break, falter, and are still.
BRET HARTE, *The Angelus.*

And she breathed the husky whisper:—
"Curfew must not ring to-night."
ROSE HARTWICK THORPE, *Curfew Must Not Ring To-night.* Mrs. Thorpe later changed "must" to "shall" in signed quotations from the poem.

6
If you love not the noise of bells, why do you pull the ropes?
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia.* No. 2767.

A crackt bell can never sound well.
THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia.* No. 6358.

7
Bells call others, but themselves enter not into the Church.
GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum.*

The Bell calls others to Church, but itself never minds the Sermon.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard,* 1754.

8
While the steeples are loud in their joy
To the tune of the bell's ring-a-ding,
Let us chime in a peal, one and all,
For we all should be able to sing
Hullahbaloo!
THOMAS HOOD, *A Song for the Million.*

9
Play uppe, play uppe, O Boston bells!
Ply all your changes, all your swells,
Play uppe "The Brides of Enderby."
JEAN INGELOW, *The High Tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire.* St. 1.

10
Bells, the music bordering nearest heaven.
LAMB, *Essays of Elia: New Year's Eve.*

For bells are Music's laughter.
HOOD, *Miss Kilmansegg: Her Marriage.*

11
For bells are the voice of th church;
They have tones that touch and search
The hearts of young and old.
LONGFELLOW, *The Bells of San Blas.* St. 3.

These bells have been anointed.
LONGFELLOW, *The Golden Legend: Prologue.*

He heard the convent bell
Suddenly in the silence ringing.
LONGFELLOW, *The Golden Legend.* Pt. iii.

12
The bells themselves are the best of preachers,
Their brazen lips are learned teachers,
From their pulpits of stone, in the upper air,
Sounding aloft, without crack or flaw,
Shriller than trumpets under the Law.
Now a sermon and now a prayer.
LONGFELLOW, *The Golden Legend.* Pt. iii.

13
The bells of Shandon, That sound so grand on

We would all be idle if we could.
SAMUEL JOHNSON. (BOSWELL, *Life*, iii, 13.)

1
I am sure that indolence—indefeasible indolence—is the true state of man, and business the invention of the old Teazer.
CHARLES LAMB, *Letter to Wordsworth*, 28 Sept., 1805.

2
I have ever loved to repose myself, whether sitting or lying, with my heels as high or higher than my seat.
MONTAIGNE, *Essays*. Bk. iii, ch. 13.

3
That indolent but delightful condition of doing nothing. (Illud iners quidem, jucundum tamen nihil agere.)
PLINY THE YOUNGER, *Epistles*. Bk. viii, epis. 9.

4
But see, while idly I stood looking on,
I found the effect of love in idleness.
SHAKESPEARE, *The Taming of the Shrew*. Act i, sc. 1, l. 155.

5
There is one piece of advice, in a life of study, which I think no one will object to; and that is, every now and then to be completely idle,—to do nothing at all.
SYDNEY SMITH, *Sketches of Moral Philosophy*. Lecture 19.

6
Extreme *busyness*, whether at school or college, kirk or market, is a symptom of deficient vitality; and a faculty for idleness implies a catholic appetite and a strong sense of personal identity.
R. L. STEVENSON, *An Apology for Idlers*.

7
The more characteristic American hero in the earlier day, and the more beloved type at all times, was not the hustler but the whittler.
MARK SULLIVAN, *Our Times*. Vol. iii, p. 297.

8
The sweetness of being idle. (Inertiæ dulcedo.)
TACITUS, *Agricola*. Sec. 3. The origin, perhaps, of the pseudo-Italian phrase, "Dolce far niente."

9
Other men have acquired fame by industry, but this man by indolence. (Utque alios industria, ita hunc ignavia ad famam protulerat.)
TACITUS, *Annals*. Bk. xvi, sec. 18. Referring to Caius Petronius.

So that what was indolence was called wisdom. (Ut quod segnitia erat, sapienta vocaretur.)
TACITUS, *History*. Bk. i, sec. 49.

10
Life does not agree with philosophy: there is no happiness without idleness, and only the useless is pleasurable.
TCHEKHOV, *Note-Books*.

11
It is well to lie fallow for a while.
M. F. TUPPER, *Proverbial Philosophy: Of Recreation*.

12
I am happiest when I am idle. I could live for months without performing any kind of labour, and at the expiration of that time I should feel fresh and vigorous enough to go right on in the same way for numerous more months.
ARTEMUS WARD, *Natural History*. Ch. 3.

13
I loafe and invite my soul,
I lean and loafe at my ease observing a spear of summer grass.
WALT WHITMAN, *Song of Myself*. Sec. 1.

14
The lazy man gets round the sun
As quickly as the busy one.
R. T. WOMBAT, *Quatrains*.

VII—Idleness: Its Penalties

15
He slept beneath the moon,
He basked beneath the sun;
He lived a life of going-to-do,
And died with nothing done.
JAMES ALBERY, *Epitaph Written for Himself*.

16
Expect poison from the standing water.
WILLIAM BLAKE, *Proverbs of Hell*.

17
There is no greater cause of melancholy than idleness; "no better cure than business," as Rhasis holds.
ROBERT BURTON, *Anatomy of Melancholy: Democritus to the Reader*.

Idleness overthrows all.
ROBERT BURTON, *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Pt. iii, sec. ii, mem. 2, subs. 1.

18
Perpetual repose is unendurable. (Quietem sempiternam possit pati.)
CICERO, *De Finibus*. Bk. v, ch. 20, sec. 55.

A life of ease a difficult pursuit.
COWPER, *Retirement*, l. 634.

The sad fatigue of idleness.
MATTHEW GREEN, *The Spleen*, l. 601.

The insupportable labour of doing nothing.
RICHARD STEELE, *Spectator*. No. 54.

The tedium of fastidious idleness.
WORDSWORTH, *The Excursion*. Bk. v, l. 430.
See also under HOLIDAY.

19
All Nature seems at work. Slugs leave their lair—
The bees are stirring—birds are on the wing— . . .
And I the while, the sole unbusy thing,
Nor honey make, nor pair, nor build, nor sing.
S. T. COLERIDGE, *Work Without Hope*. St. 1.

20
A lazy man is necessarily a bad man; an

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PETER'S QUOTATIONS

IDEAS FOR OUR TIME

By

LAURENCE J. PETER

WILLIAM MORROW AND COMPANY, INC.

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ETER'S QUOTATIONS
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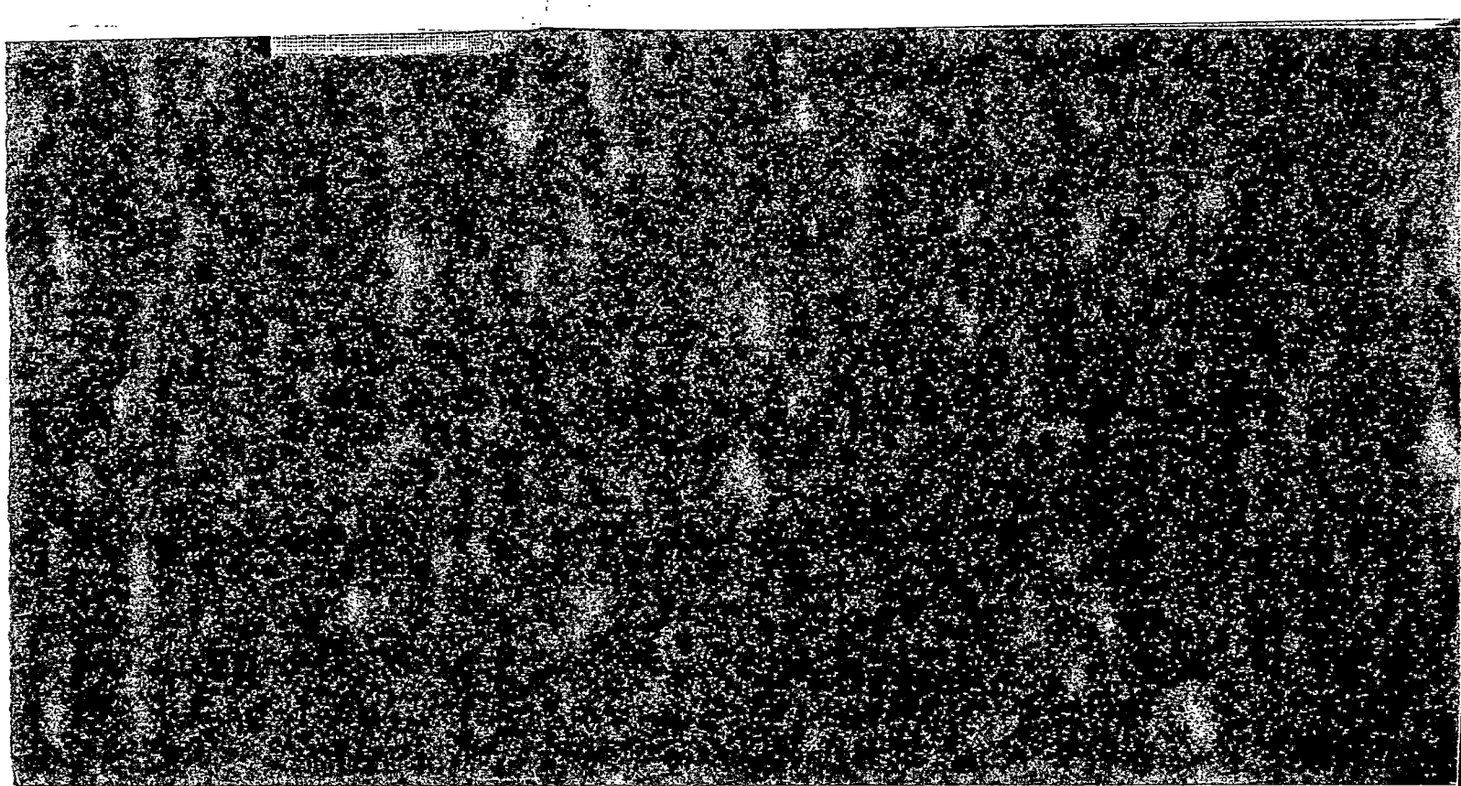


an's fate. —André Malraux

ers along the course of civilization.
—Lincoln Steffens

h a much better price than old mistresses.
—Lord Beaverbrook

art of the vision of mankind passes with
ıo Roosevelt

ears more ridiculous opinions than any-
—Edmond de Goncourt (1822–1896)
in a coffin.)

more sense than gin for gin's sake.
—Somerset Maugham

ın drawing the line somewhere.
—G. K. Chesterton

he doesn't know what he likes.
—James Thurber

; they are like the work of a girl of
lve. —Ben Nicholson

ing to say but the inability to say it well,
y something well if they had something
s

ın but only a pedant can live there.
—George Santayana

ach other's work.
—Oscar Wilde (1854–1900)

n itself gives no suggestion to the artist.
—Oscar Wilde

can equally and impartially admire all
Wilde (On the other hand, he may sell
another man who doesn't want it, for

y you paint so long as you don't paint
—George Moore

product of the vitality and passion with-
at art. —Francis Toye

s his work; he merely abandons it.
—Paul Valéry

A doctor can bury his mistakes but an architect can only advise his client to plant vines. —Frank Lloyd Wright

Art flourishes where there is a sense of adventure.
—Alfred North Whitehead

Art is the difference between seeing and just identifying.
—Jean Mary Norman

Everything is art if it is chosen by the artist to be art.
—Samuel Adams Green

One reassuring thing about modern art is that things can't be as bad as they are painted.
—M. Walthall Jackson

Modern art is what happens when painters stop looking at girls and persuade themselves they have a better idea. —John Ciardi

For the mystic what is how. For the craftsman how is what. For the artist what and how are one. —William McElcheran

A great artist is always before his time or behind it.
—George Moore

He paints as a bird sings. —Paul Signac, of Monet

Don't talk to me of Gauguin. I'd like to wring the fellow's neck!
—Paul Cézanne

He bores me. He ought to have stuck to his flying machines.
—Auguste Renoir, of Leonardo da Vinci

You are the first in the decadence of your art.
—Charles Baudelaire, to Manet

The connoisseur of art must be able to appreciate what is simply beautiful, but the common run of people are satisfied with ornament.
—Johann W. von Goethe (1749–1832)

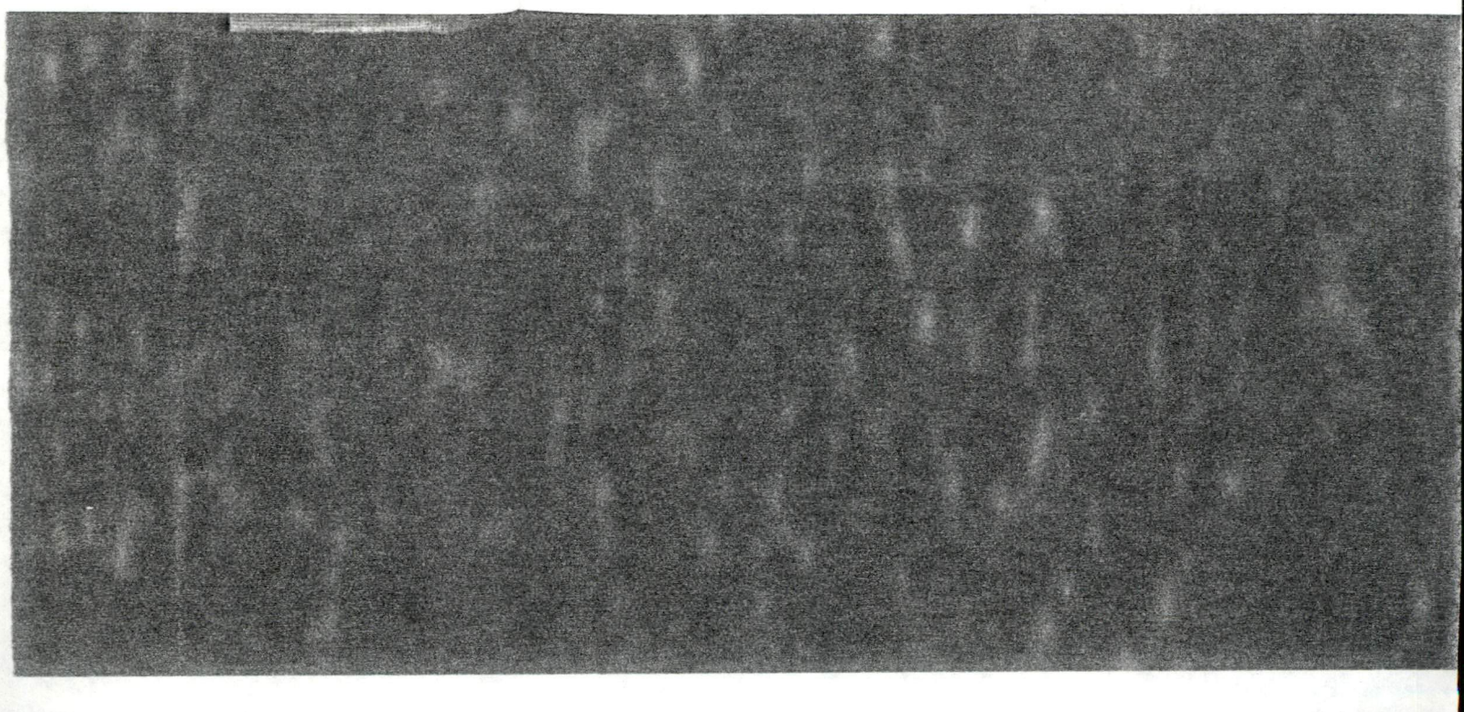
The rule in the art world is: you cater to the masses or you kowtow to the elite; you can't have both. —Ben Hecht

There is nothing new in art except talent. —Anton Chekhov

The great artist is the simplifier.
—Henri Frédéric Amiel (1821–1881)

Art happens—no hovel is safe from it, no Prince may depend upon it, the vastest intelligence cannot bring it about.
—James McNeill Whistler

Painting is silent poetry, and poetry is painting that speaks.
—Simonides (6th–5th century, B.C.)



Man is what he believes. —Anton Chekhov

A miracle: an event described by those to whom it was told by men who did not see it. —Elbert Hubbard

Though a good deal is too strange to be believed, nothing is too strange to have happened. —Thomas Hardy

Sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast. —Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson) (1832–1898)

Seek not to understand that you may believe, but believe that you may understand. —Saint Augustine (Oh what tangled webs we weave when first we practice to believe!)

Generally the theories we believe we call facts, and the facts we disbelieve we call theories. —Felix Cohen

We are inclined to believe those we do not know, because they have never deceived us. —Samuel Johnson (1709–1784)

If we let ourselves believe that man began with divine grace, that he forfeited this by sin, and that he can be redeemed only by divine grace through the crucified Christ then we shall find a peace of mind never granted to philosophers. He who cannot believe is cursed, for he reveals by his unbelief that God has not chosen to give him grace. —Blaise Pascal (1623–1662)

For every credibility gap there is a gullibility fill. —Richard Clopton

Seeing is deceiving. It's eating that's believing. —James Thurber

He who proselytizes in the cause of unbelief is basically a man in need of belief. —Eric Hoffer

Reading made Don Quixote a gentleman, but believing what he read made him mad. —George Bernard Shaw

Why abandon a belief merely because it ceases to be true? Cling to it long enough and . . . it will turn true again, for so it goes. Most of the change we think we see in life is due to truths being in and out of favor. —Robert Frost

What matters today is not the difference between those who believe and those who do not believe, but the difference between those who care and those who don't. —Abbé Pire

The essence of belief is the establishment of a habit. —Charles S. Pearce